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IT is a striking fact in the history of our species, that their earliest studies were the skies. Arcturus, the Pleiades, Orion, and the "Crooked Serpent," were spectacles familiar to men, and which they converted to practical use, in ages when they appear scarcely to have known how to distinguish one stratum of earth, or even one blade of grass, from another. The heaven-ward gaze which bespeaks their origin and their destiny, rendered them indifferent to subordinate objects, until their curiosity having become satiated with the stars, they bent their eyes to the spot which was assigned to them for their temporary habitation.

What new wonders, what inscrutable mysteries, then began to exercise and confound their intellectual faculties! They discovered here accumulations of matter of various descriptions, moulded, (as they have by incessant research eventually learned,) into a sphere, placed at a certain distance from an infinitely larger sphere invested in light, around which, while turning on an axis of its own, it advances in an orbit, not a circle, and yet is unerring in its return to the point from which it had set out. They beheld it faithfully attended in its journey by another, and a minor, sphere, of whose course it is itself the centre; and then, gradually extending their inquiries, they found that the world in which they dwell, is but one of several globes, some with, some without, retinues of satellites, all in motion round the same great source of that luminous element so essential to their common existence.

But the mind of man did not rest here. He pursued his career of inquiry until, by the aid of the telescope, he caught glimpses of myriads of spheres before unseen,—spheres which

though apparently fixed, by science are judged to be in motion, forming with those that are visible to the unassisted eye, and with countless hosts of others hidden even from the telescope in the heights of space, a sublime procession around the uncreated focus of all the spheres—the throne of the Omnipotent.

The logic that detains us within notions only of those things which we can actually see or touch, ought to have long since become obsolete. We should look out of our ark betimes, and contemplate its progress upon the ocean of the universe. The relation in which our globe is placed with reference to the sun and moon, gives us habits which, though useful for many purposes, tend nevertheless to limit the range of our ideas. Those habits render us conversant with enumerations of hours, and days, and months, and years, and centuries; whereas, if we could but grasp within our view the magnificent scheme of creation, of which our system constitutes so small a part, we should know that time is but a local phrase, and that in truth, man is living and moving not in time, but eternity.

Then come the questions, how, and why, he happens to be here?—What is he?—When came he hither? How long is he to remain here? Whither is he to go, if he does not altogether perish on this earth? Examining his own structure, he finds it most elaborately wrought in every part; each part, each particular sinew, vein, limb, organ, adapted with wondrous accuracy to the functions which it has to perform,—some always at work, independently of his will—some instantly obedient to his order,—the whole a fabric incomparable for its beauty and perfection to any other animated object which he beholds on this earth.

He observes that all things around him, living, or not living, are subject to laws of perpetual mutation. The insect that creeps to day, to-morrow puts on wings and seeks the sky. The tiny seed he puts into the ground, in due season sprouts up into a stem, yielding a hundred other seeds of the same species. The green summer attire of the elm and the oak becomes sere in the autumn, falls at their feet, and turns into mould. The spring calls forth fresh foliage which again delights his eye, and again fades and mingles with the soil beneath. Walking through the corn-field, he lights upon a little habitation, carefully hollowed out and furnished with materials conducive to warmth; several curiously spotted oval-shaped objects are there, within which are contained the elements of life, and joy, and melody, and if he but permit them to remain untouched, he may speedily watch the flight of the creatures



within them to "Heaven's gates," and hear them make the welkin ring with their song. The dew or the rain imbibed by the vine, is changed into a delicious nectar cheering to the heart of man. The same elements are converted, in the upas, into a liquor that instantly destroys him. Myriads of animated beings pass under his observation, some predestined to live a century, others to enjoy life only for a day or an hour. They consume each other, or losing their power of motion decay and merge into dust. The waters of the river and the ocean expand into vapour, rise and float in the firmament, again assume their pristine form, and descend to the sources whence they came. Man obeys the same law of change. The flesh and blood of his infancy speedily pass away. Those of his youth and maturity follow the same destiny, and those he happens to possess when he is consigned to the tomb, become the food of subterranean races, or moulder into a substance which yields the green grass and the flower.

But amidst all these transformations there is one element, in which he perceives no injurious change. He is conscious that whatever becomes of the silvered hairs of his head, and of the palsied hand, the stooping frame, and the eye curtained by the cataract, there is something within him which tells of all the past; which looking backward to a point, has from year to year been still expanding in its forward views, and growing stronger in its natural powers; the same in the smile of the infant, improved in the meditation of the sage,—the same in the vision of the night, as in the reality of the morning,—the same in the zephyr of the spring, as in the tempest of the winter,—and therefore not, at all events, of this earth's matter. That matter, although undergoing perpetual alteration, never perishes. By stronger consequence the element that thinks, which does not lose a spark of its original fire, cannot die here: and if it cease to think on this globe, it must pursue on some other the exercise of faculties of which it cannot divest itself, even if it were so disposed. Reasoning from the greater energy those faculties have gained by exercise on this stage of existence, we are entitled to conclude that they must still go on farther towards perfection, when they display themselves in a nobler field of exertion, until at length passing through all the orders of intelligence, from man to the angel, from the angel to the seraph and the cherubim, they beam in the light of the divinity.

Thus the question, "what is man?" may be answered in language, the truth of which he would find confirmed by every object he can see on earth, even if there had been no Heavenly

Preceptor sent to disclose to him that splendid destiny. It is not alone the principle of identity in his mind, that guarantees its immortality; we must believe from every fact which inquiry has brought within our knowledge, that the powers of consciousness, of memory, of precaution, of volition, which every organized being exercises, from the gnat of the sun-beam to the leviathan of the deep, more or less partake of the nature of mind. We perceive, however, that they do not individually improve, unless assisted by man, and that the races which succeed each other, gain nothing from the experience of those that have gone before them. This well ascertained truth demonstrates that such races have no higher destinies to fulfil than those which are assigned them here. When they die, their consciousness dies with the form which it had animated. Man's pledge of immortality (even without the hopes given to him by Revelation,) is not only the consciousness of identity, but the ever improving character of his intellect; his constant elevation even here, from a meaner to a higher state of existence and enjoyment. Born naked, he, who was once contented to clothe himself in the skin of the lion or the tiger, now vests himself in silver and golden tissues of the most magnificent description. He who once journeyed painfully on foot, has compelled the horse and even the huge elephant to bear him wherever he chooses to go. The canoe which feared the slightest wind or wave, he has improved into the steam ship, which traverses the ocean in defiance of tide and storm. And not satisfied with the path which his feet have worn down the valley, and over the mountain, he has made himself an iron road, that spans the hollow and pierces the rock, and bears him by the assistance of fire and water, in four hours, over a distance, which had cost even his father a period of as many days.

Man is the peculiar favourite of nature,—the great object of all her operations. Like a fond parent she often discourses with him, and simplifies her speech to her child, hushing him to repose with her nightingale song, awakening him to activity and joy, by choirs that make the woods resound with their melodies: tempting him into the fields by the gaiety and diversity of the flowers in which she has arrayed them: amusing and instructing him at every step he takes by her divine alphabet,—the hosts of busy and beautiful insects that cross his path, or hum in his ear, or captivate his eye.

Still, as he grows up, she pursues her maternal purpose; she teaches him to watch the heavens, and read the stars. As

if these bright volumes were insufficient for her object, she summons from the depths of space her comets, which by their re-appearance at intervals more or less regular, enable him to form some faint idea of the vastness of the firmament. Not satisfied even with these exertions, she frequently projects from her stores of light thousands of meteors, which appear sometimes to be telegraphic symbols of great tidings, communicated from orb to orb, sometimes are dissipated in showers of dazzling lustre, as if to stimulate and prepare his vision for spectacles infinitely more resplendent.

Oh! had man not been disobedient when first placed here—had he not condemned himself, in consequence of his fall, to earn his bread by the “sweat of his brow,”—had the earth not been accursed by reason of his altered relation to a just Creator,—what a different, how much more exalted, a being would he not have shown himself at this period of his residence in what would have still been a paradise! If, under all the circumstances of his history, and looking to the many difficulties with which he has had to contend,—the obscurity caused by passion and crime in an intellect that was at first without a cloud—the incessant toil through which he has had to struggle in order to regain some portion of the strength that belonged to his original faculties, he still evinces his god-like nature, and every day manifests it more and more; what a glorious radiance would have issued from his brow, what pregnant expression would have flown from his lips, what sublime imagery would have announced his thoughts, what hymns would have been ever ascending from his enraptured soul, to the eternal object of his love and adoration, had he but preserved undefiled his primitive innocence!

Is it intended that the day shall come, when the human mind shall exist here in a state of perfection and happiness such as it enjoyed before the garden of Eden was turned into a desert? To what great purpose tend these “goings to and fro,” which at this moment appear to pervade almost every region of the earth? If we calmly observe the activity of invention, which especially characterizes the intellect of our own country,—the success with which it is attended—the many unforeseen and important results by which it is rapidly followed—the constantly increasing courage and power which intelligence and enterprize acquire in new spheres of action; and then consider that the immediate consequence of all these impulses and their corresponding operations, is the nearer and the nearer approximation of human communities to each other;

we shall be compelled to conclude that great changes—changes all of an ameliorating character—in the general condition of men, are not very remote from the present era.

It cannot be doubted that the more frequently and the more nearly intellectual creatures are brought into intercourse with each other, the more speedily must vanish all national prejudices, all limited views of self-interest, and all those sordid thoughts which lead only to crime. Questions may be raised as to the lawfulness, in a moral point of view, of many of the proceedings which the Crusaders thought fit to adopt. But many nations were awakened by those movements from a profound lethargy, and some of the first symptoms of modern civilization were among the results of the wars against the Saracens. The career of Napoleon, however culpable in some respects, was one continued scene of new thoughts, and expanding aspirations upon the part of men through all Europe. The countless triumphs of man's inventive faculties during these latter years of peace, infinitely more than compensate for the devastations of all former wars. These triumphs are still in progress; one leads to another, with a ratio of improvement, for which, arithmetical or even geometrical proportions afford no adequate expression. The course of reasoning—of reasoning in the strictest sense,—which the data now in our possession would fairly justify, might appear visionary if we were to follow it through its legitimate direction; we are content therefore to indicate it, and let the future plead our justification in holding out the most brilliant hopes to mankind.

It is important to this view of the subject, always to bear in mind that change is an essential property of all material things. The portions of this globe which are now above the sea, were unquestionably for ages underneath it; well-examined astronomical and geological discoveries, aided by many chemical experiments, would lead us to believe, that although the Omnipotent might have bidden by a single mandate this sphere to exist in the condition in which we now find it, He preferred to have it formed gradually and in conformity with certain laws which he has been pleased to prescribe for Himself in all His creative operations. It may be, that the sudden launching into space of a dense orb, already furnished with its necessary solid materials, and its due proportions of ocean, atmosphere and light, might produce disturbances in the movements of pre-existing globes that would violate the rules to which He had subjected them. Thus the creation of one sphere might render it necessary to take a preparatory course as to all others;

the law of unity and harmony being one by which it seems to have pleased the Deity to demonstrate His existence and power to His intelligent creatures. Undoubtedly, such disturbances might have been hindered by the will of the Creator. But again, we may presume to suppose, that He preferred a course of action, consonant with general rules, which being more observable by His creatures than separate displays of power, would have the effect of exciting their faculties and exalting them to the knowledge of His "ways."

All the probabilities of theory—for we must be satisfied so to consider them—run in favour of the supposition that the chief masses of the materials of which this globe is now composed, originally existed in a gaseous form. It is well known that solids may be converted into elastic fluids, and elastic fluids into solids. Hydrogen and nitrogen gases are most probably metals in a state of vapour; and the most approved mode of accounting for those immense substances called meteoric stones, which are precipitated occasionally upon earth, is that they are generated in the atmosphere itself.

Nor is this doctrine by any means repugnant to the account of the creation of our planet which we find in Scripture. Quite the reverse; for we are expressly told that it was in its primitive state literally "void and empty," giving us the idea of a mere nebula, resembling those which astronomers have observed in several parts of the Heavens, and conjectured to be embryo worlds in a course of preparation for a more compact condition. We possess no means of calculating the ages comprised within the period alluded to by the author of Genesis, as "the beginning," nor how long the state described as "void, empty and dark," continued. During the darkness, waters however appear to have been generated, and after the spirit of God moved over them, He bade light to exist. Light therefore, according to this account, is a substance independent of the sun, for the sun was not created until what is called the fourth day of the creation. This statement is fully borne out by the fact, for we find light diffused throughout all nature. Extract from the earth a flint, strike it with another flint, or with any hard substance, and "light is made." Penetrate caverns where no ray of the sun ever entered, and you behold them illuminated. Light exists in the eye, as any one may discover, by striking that organ. It is latent in wood, and may be developed from it by friction; it is in almost every kind of stone, as the horse's hoof when stricken against it often proves. Go into the Italian or Mexican forest, or wander by

our own green hedges, in the dusk of the summer evening, and you see thousands of winged, or unwinged insects, carrying their lamps, fed not by the sunbeam, but by the primary light which God had commanded to be made.

Sail upon the ocean, and your prow ploughs up light at every bound. Look at the waves broken on the rock by the angry wind—what surges of light they leave behind them! Resolve the element of water into its component parts, and it will produce light. The lustre of the emerald, the opal and the diamond, is borrowed from the same original source with which the sun has nothing to do. This light is, according to the best modern opinions, identical with what is usually denominated the electric fluid, or at least uniformly pervades it; and the sun is only the great repository, where volumes of that fluid are collected for distribution through all the planets and their satellites appertaining to its system.

After light was made, the firmament was created, to “divide the waters from the waters.” This firmament we call the atmosphere—a word derived from the Greek terms, *ἀτμός* (vapour), and *σφαῖρα* (sphere),—that is, the vapour by which our sphere is surrounded. It does undoubtedly divide the waters from the waters in this sense, that amongst its other ingredients it holds in solution a certain quantity of water,—a quantity which, if it were all at once precipitated upon the earth, would (according to Leslie,) cover the globe to the height of about five inches. The atmosphere serves also in another way to “divide the waters from the waters,” for as the process of evaporation is always going on from the surface of the sea, from rivers, and every part of earth where there is moisture; the vapour so produced ascends to the sky, and is there retained until it descends again in the form of rain.

The process by which rain is produced, is a matter which has not yet been satisfactorily explained; we know from experience, that the southern, the south-western, and the western winds of our climate, are often accompanied by clouds and rain. But instances are known to have occurred of showers from a sky in which no cloud appeared. Professor Wartmann, one of the associate members of the Meteorological Society, has given a detailed account of a phenomenon of this kind, which he witnessed at Geneva, on the 31st of May, 1838. The whole of that day had been characterized by sudden atmospheric changes; sometimes large black clouds, extremely agitated, covered the sky from one horizon to the other; sometimes the sky was cloudless; and again new masses of vapour appeared, followed by heavy showers.



"The same day," he states, "as I was walking upon the quay of the Rhine, at 7h. 2m. P. M., there came on a sudden shower of rain, which continued for six minutes, under circumstances which astonished every one present. The drops at the commencement of the shower were large and compact, but they became smaller until the complete cessation of the phenomenon. This rain, the temperature of which was lukewarm, fell vertically from a sky perfectly clear in the zenith, and without any apparent cloud in the visual horizon; a thermometer placed at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the earth, indicated at that moment 65.3 Fahr. The air was calm, and the moon, without any cloud to obscure it, was shining nearly on the meridian.

"This rain had great analogy to that which fell here, with a perfectly clear sky, and an atmospheric temperature of 70.5 Fahr. on the 9th of August last year, at 9h. 15m. P. M. which continued about two minutes, and was repeated several times in different parts of the city at intervals of half an hour.

"It is a remarkable fact, that in both cases the zenith was cloudless, the air clear, and without agitation; the first drops of rain that fell were large, and of a warm temperature. It is also further remarkable that the former of these rains took place at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ h. P. M. when the thermometer in the open air was 70.5 Fahr., and the latter at 7h. 2m. P. M. the thermometer being 65.3 Fahr.; consequently, they both occurred at the close of the day, and under very different atmospheric temperatures.

"It appears, however, that this singular phenomenon is produced in the night as well as in the day, in summer as well as in winter; but it remains to be determined if it could occur at a very low temperature.

"The late Professor, M. A. Pictet, of Geneva, (who was a member of the Meteorological Society,) once witnessed a similar shower in the night between the 6th and 7th of January, 1791, at one hour after midnight. He says, that the heavens were perfectly clear, there was not the least mist, and the wind was very gentle; but he did not know the temperature of the air at the time."—pp. 129-30.

In these instances we must presume that either the vapours which yielded the rain were so rarified as to be invisible, or that the rain was the result of a disengagement from the atmosphere of a portion of the water which it always holds in solution. In some climates, as for example those of Devonshire and Ireland, the proportion of the aqueous ingredient in the atmosphere exceeds that of other localities. This humidity, when not visible as vapour, often lends a magic charm to the landscape. It has acted on more than one occasion, like the lens of a telescope, and enabled persons standing on the shore at Dover, to see Calais distinctly. Boulogne also is said to have been once made visible at Brighton, through a similar formation in the atmosphere.

As to the other ingredients of which our atmosphere is composed, the state of our knowledge is as yet very imperfect. We can undoubtedly affirm from common observation, that it is matter affording considerable resistance to mechanical force; that it is elastic, a given volume of it being capable of compression into a smaller compass, and of resuming its former bulk when the pressure is removed; and that it possesses weight. The whole height of the atmosphere is calculated to be about forty-five miles, the greater proportion of it, however, looking to its density, not being higher than twenty miles. As the pressure from above must act on the particles below, it will necessarily follow that the lower strata of the atmosphere are much more dense than those above them. It would seem, however, that this difference would cause no inconvenience to animal existence. The Baron de Humboldt, indeed, and other travellers, who have surmounted the Cordilleras of the Andes, affirm that they suffered great difficulty in breathing, when they reached those summits. Mr. Monck Mason, however, in the account he has given of his celebrated aeronautic expedition across the channel in company with Mr. Green, states, that the balloon frequently attained an altitude of twelve thousand feet, and that at no time, did they experience the slightest effect on their bodies from the diminished superincumbent weight of the atmosphere. He, as we think, justly attributes the difficulty of breathing, spoken of by the Baron de Humboldt and others, to the muscular fatigue necessarily incurred in the course of their upward journey.

Notwithstanding the admitted fact, that a column of the atmosphere possesses a certain appreciable weight, and that this weight serves to keep in balance the mercurial column of the barometer at a particular height, there is scarcely any question connected with atmospherical changes, more difficult of solution, than those arising from the variations of the height of the mercury in that instrument. We find in the volume before us the observations of several eminent members of the society, with a view to throw some light upon this most perplexing subject. We shall quote their remarks, upon one month only, (that of July 1837,) taken at eight different stations in England; we apprehend that the data, which even these scanty materials supply, must serve to shew that the action of the mercury in the barometer is as yet one of the arcana of nature, with reference to which our investigations have made but slender progress.

July 1837, at London. "The month entered with fair weather, and a *high* barometer, and the wind blowing brisk from the E.: intermissions of clouds and sunshine, with a *falling* barometer, continued until the 5th, when light rain fell in the evening. Fair weather prevailed, until the 14th, when a brisk wind set in from the S., accompanied with heavy showers. On the morning of the following day, 15th, there were several dark threatening clouds; much rain fell in the afternoon, but the evening was fair and clear; variable weather prevailed until the 29th, when a strong wind set in from S. E. varying, and the barometer *fell suddenly* at 11 A.M. attended with a heavy shower of rain. The wind continued high during the night, but abated on the following day, veering to the S.W. The month ended with cloudy and wet weather." p. 62.

At Bedford. "This month ushered in with a fresh breeze and a high barometer: N.E. and N.W. winds prevailed during the former part of the month, and the barometer was very steady. On the 13th the wind veered to S.S.W. and a little rain fell. A light breeze on the 14th from S.S.W. On the following day it became squally, from W.S.W. which increased on the 16th, to strong squalls accompanied with rain. On the 18th, a gale from W.S.W. attended with showers; squally again on the 20th, with a fresh breeze from W.N.W. Fair weather, with light airs and occasional breezes from N.W. and S., prevailed until the 28th, when a gale with hard squalls, set in from the S., and the barometer, which, on the preceding day at 3 P.M. stood at 29.82 inches, now fell to 29.20 inches; this meteor reached its maximum on the following day, when it became stormy with hard squalls from the S.W. quarter, and the barometer then rose. It was squally on the 30th with a fresh breeze from the W., which on the 31st veered to the N.W. During the latter part of the month, in consequence of S.W. winds accompanied with rain, the range of the barometer has been very irregular." pp. 76, 77.

At Derby. "Summer weather still prevails, and the wind continues to blow from the N.E. The atmosphere appeared in perfect equilibrium, but its balance was destroyed on the 13th, the wind changing to the W. and it became showery. On the 14th, the barometer had fallen to 29.41 inches, and a tremendous storm of thunder occurred, accompanied by heavy rain. On the following day, another violent storm of thunder took place, the wind being from S.W. the barometer afterwards rose. On the 18th, there was a third terrific storm of hail, accompanied by thunder, and the wind afterwards changed from W. to N.W. and the following day became fair. On the 20th, the wind returned again to W., and thunder and hail followed. It veered again to N.W., and fair weather then ensued. The wind returned to the S.W. on the 26th, and alternate fair and wet weather followed. The barometer still ranged low, and excepting the four first days, kept below 29 inches. The temperature has also been very irregular, the minimum varying from 41 to 48, and the maximum from 68 to 89 Fahrenheit." p. 81.

July, 1837, at Thetford. "Alternations of fair and cloudy weather, and a low temperature ushered in the month, with the exception of the last week, the range of the barometer was steady, notwithstanding several windy days." p. 96.

At Swansea. "The former part of this month was characterized by very hot weather, which continued with little intermission, until about the 12th, on which the hottest day occurred. Rain then fell, and fine weather ensued until the night of the 28th, when we were visited by a very severe storm, commencing in the S.E., and lasting throughout the whole of the next day, and part of the night of the 29th. The very rapid fall and rise of the barometer was very remarkable on those two days." p. 111.

At High Wycombe. "The month was very fine, the quantity of rain being small, little more than one half of the quantity in July last year. The mean temperature was higher than in the same month last year, and twenty-one days were without rain. The barometer was lower, as respects the extremes, than in the corresponding month last year; but there was an extraordinary coincidence in the mean and that of the last year, the difference being only the .0029th part of an inch. Thunder was heard on the 18th in the afternoon. The wind was chiefly from the W. veering from S.W. to N.W." p. 116.

At Cheltenham. "The month commenced with fine summer weather, an easterly wind, and a high barometer. The weather continued fair until the 13th, when we had clouds and showers for two days, and with slight intermission it was fine throughout the month. The wind has been generally from W. and S.W.; the mean temperature has been higher than in the five preceding years. Maximum pressure on the 1st, 30.08 inches. Minimum pressure on the 29th, 28.87 inches." p. 122.

At Gosport. "The first part of the month to the 13th, was dry and fine, with hot sunshine on two or three days; but the lower part of the atmosphere was not arid, nor the temperature in the shade above the summer heat. The latter part was alternately showery and fine, with nearly a uniform temperature." "The mean temperature of the air this month, is two degrees lower than the mean of July for a series of years." pp. 136, 137.

It thus appears, that during the month of July 1837, the weather was extremely unsettled at Bedford and Derby; that the prevailing winds there, during the month, were those from the W. or the S.W.; that several terrific storms occurred in both these places; that the storm of the 28th and 29th, which was experienced at Bedford and Swansea, was not felt at Derby, Thetford, High Wycombe, Cheltenham, or Gosport; that it visited London as a strong wind; that the barometer fell suddenly at London on the 29th, at Bedford on the 28th, fell rapidly and rose rapidly at Swansea on the 28th and 29th; that at Cheltenham where, with the exception of two days, 13th

and 14th, the whole month was fine, the barometer was lower than at Bedford on the 29th; that at Thetford it was steady during the whole month; that at High Wycombe, although the temperature was higher than during the same month for several years, the barometer was lower as to the extremes, than it was in 1836.

It further appears from the London and Cheltenham returns, that while the wind was from the E. the barometer was high, and this is generally understood to be the case, but that the mercurial column is very irregularly affected while the winds blow from all other quarters, sometimes rising, sometimes falling, in the very same currents, whether from S. or S.W. or W. At Thetford the barometer is said to have remained "steady," during the month, "notwithstanding several windy days."

It is remarkable too, that the storm of the 28th and 29th, which seems to have made its first appearance at Swansea from the S.E., was felt at Bedford as from the S. and S.W. and in a lighter degree at London, as from the S.E. It would seem therefore to have passed in a current between London and Gosport, (not having been felt at Gosport at all) to Swansea, and then to have rushed with great violence from the S.W. to Bedford, expending its strength before it reached Thetford, where it may probably have been noted as among the "windy days" above mentioned. The sudden falling of the barometer at Cheltenham on the 29th, without any previous or subsequent appearance there of the storm of that day, Cheltenham being directly in its path from Swansea to Bedford, is one of the many phenomena of the atmosphere, for which we have no settled theory. It does not seem an improbable conjecture, that the local position of Cheltenham, as compared with the higher country around it, protected it from the fury of the wind, which may have passed over it through the upper regions of the firmament. The depression of the barometer might thus have been caused by the disturbance which took place in the upper strata of its atmosphere; and if other similar facts should be found to confirm this conjecture, we shall at least have made some progress, however small, towards a satisfactory solution of some of the difficulties attending the variations of the barometer, the alteration in this case (upon the hypothesis) having occurred not in consequence of altered temperature, but of a disturbed atmosphere; that disturbance having taken place in the more elevated strata of its firmament, and having required some portion of the lower strata to restore the equilibrium.

The practical uses to which the doctrine of a regularly stra-

tified atmosphere may be converted are numerous. For instance, it would teach us at once, that our construction of the interior of public edifices, such as churches, courts of justice, houses of legislature, theatres, and other places in which large assemblies are addressed, is defective, whenever the speaker has to direct his voice from a position much above the level on which his audience is chiefly congregated. To make them all hear him with facility he ought not to stand on an elevated stage, or in a high pulpit, but on the floor, the audience being raised above him. This was usually the principle upon which the ancient Greek and Roman theatres and amphitheatres were formed; and the result was, that the least modulation of the voice of the actor on the arena was distinctly heard from below. The true musical connoisseur, who wishes to enjoy the compositions of Mozart or Rossini, stations himself not in the pit of the opera, but on the front bench of the gallery. Mr. Monck Mason states that at an altitude of more than twelve thousand feet from the surface of the earth, he and his companions heard, not merely the rushing of the torrents below, but the sounds in all their solemn variations of the winds passing through the German forests.

In accordance with this theory is the fact, which any person may easily prove by experiment, that if he stand at a distance from two other persons placed together on the same level, but differing in stature, and if these two persons speak to him successively, his eyes being at the time closed, and his ear never before having heard the voice of either, he can instantly tell by the sound, which of the two is the taller. The voices flow to him on different strata, that of the taller of course upon the higher stratum; and the slight difference of stature which may be distinguished in this way, shews the exility of the atmospheric strata, at least near the surface of the earth.

We have pretty well ascertained by chemical experiments, the principal elements of which our atmosphere is composed. They are two very different airs, or gases, which in the nomenclature of the science, are called oxygen and azote,—words borrowed from the Greek language, the former being composed of the two words *οξύς* (sour) and *γενᾶω* (I produce), that is, its power of producing acidity, and the latter being framed from *α* (no) and *ζωή* (life),—that is destructive of life. In oxygen air, it is found that when no other air is mixed with it, a candle, or any other combustible substance, if ignited, would burn with greater rapidity and splendour than in the common atmosphere. In mere azote a lighted taper is in-



stantly extinguished. The difference therefore between the two gases is this, that one extremely favours life, and the other destroys it. If we were placed in oxygen alone, we should live as it were too rapidly. If we were placed in azote alone, we could scarcely live at all. By the due mixture of the two gases in the atmosphere, the evil effects of each in its separate state are neutralized, and thus by breathing both together we enjoy that mode of existence which is most suitable to the purposes we are placed on earth to accomplish.

It is stated by Sir H. Davy, that oxygen, in its elastic state, gives out light by compression, which is not certainly known to be the case with respect to any other elastic fluid, those only excepted with which oxygen has entered into combination without having undergone combustion. From the fire which it produces in certain processes, and from the manner in which it is separated by positive electricity, in the gaseous state, from the gases associated with it, it would seem, according to the same great authority, not easy to avoid the supposition, that it contains, besides its ponderable elements, some very subtile matter, which is capable of assuming the quality of heat and light. Vegetables, wherever situated, on land or in water, acted on by light, have the power of disengaging oxygen from their own elements of existence. They thus counteract and balance the effects of the respiration of animals, and of any combustion which may take place near them, and become active instruments for the preservation of the air of the atmosphere, and also of the air dissolved in the water of the ocean, in a uniform state,—the state most conducive to animal and vegetable life.\* It appears highly probable that the common air when inspired enters into the venous fluids entire, though in a state of dissolution, carrying with it its ethereal part, which in ordinary cases of chemical fusion escapes; and that it is to this ethereal part we owe the continuance of that inward heat, without which we could not exist, and over which, even the most intense external cold, generally seems to exercise no material influence.

It must be understood that the particles, of which each of the two elements of oxygen and azote is constituted, are not confounded. The particles belonging to each, are merely mingled with each other; each particle has an elasticity, or a repulsive power of its own, in the natural condition of the atmosphere. The proportion in which they are so associated,

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\* Snow water has been said to contain much oxygen, and thus to be particularly favourable to vegetation.

is one volume of oxygen to four volumes of azote: the machinery of death thus exceeding that of life, in the ratio of four to one. And when combination takes place between them, as it does whenever the same volumes of air are frequently breathed, or acted upon by combustion, the pernicious principle gains a decided ascendancy. Hence appears the necessity of a perfect ventilation in all places where animal life is of importance, and of a sufficient degree of ventilation to allow of a complete supply of uncombined particles of the atmosphere to displace those which have been combined by either of the processes above mentioned, otherwise the result will be more or less destructive of existence.

Besides oxygen and azote, the atmosphere also contains other matter. The terrible storms which periodically occur in the inter-tropical climates, when the whole firmament is literally a mass of fire; and the long continued and heavy rains by which those awful visitations are followed, shew the source whence the fires that are known from the volcano to be at work within the interior of the earth, must have their origin. The reservoirs of water hidden also within the bosom of the globe, and the rivers flowing through its veins, the effects of which, when heated by the internal fires, are made manifest in the earthquake, must be portions of the element originally held in the atmosphere in a gaseous form. We observe from the torrent that often descends from the heavens, and which we call the water-spout, that a vast body of the element may be suddenly collected above our heads, and precipitated upon us almost before we have time to escape its fury. In some climates the rain assumes a combined form, resembling waves dashed from the clouds, and sometimes accompanied by immense hail-stones and fragments of ice, which destroy for a season all the hopes of the vintager and the husbandman.

The showers which sometimes occur, of insects and small fish, the aerolites, the quantity of earthy particles intermixed with rain-water, also assure us of the continued existence in the firmament of other matter than that which we perceive in the gaseous form. Every thing, in short, that we know of it, leads us to believe that it was, "in the beginning," mentioned in Genesis, the great laboratory in which, if we may presume so to speak, the primary materials of the globe were compacted through the instrumentality of its gases, its waters, and its fires. Hence we can the more readily comprehend the course of creation, of which the geologist has already found so many traces. During the unsettled periods of the earth, it is perfectly

consistent with even our present acquaintance with the atmospheric elements, that the remains of animals now confined to warm climates, should be found in climates where, if now placed, they could no longer exist; and that even whole races which traversed the marshes of the primeval world should have become altogether extinct. However necessary to the economy of creation they might have been in densely clouded skies, or in places where continued fires and inundations were performing those functions of which we now behold the results, in the vast hollows filled with ocean, in the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Andes and the Himalayas, in the Danube and the Nile, the Ganges and the Indus, the Plata, the Amazon, the Mississippi, and the Niagara; it is manifest that such gigantic and amphibious beings could serve no useful purpose, after the air was purified of its noxious vapours, the fruitage of the earth was mellowed by genial suns, the rank weeds gave place to nutritive plants, the forest trees put on their varied foliage, the groves were filled with birds, and the upland and the valley spread with green herbage, and decorated by flowers of every hue and fragrance, to greet the arrival of MAN, and to sustain him in happiness.

Since that great epoch, the general tendency of the earth has been (if we except the deluge,) to a state of repose,—a state into which,

“If we steadfast look,

We shall discern

In it, as in some holy book,

How man may heavenly knowledge learn.”

The atmosphere, more perhaps than any thing else that forms part of the furniture of our globe, though charged with elements that conduce to health, is also fraught with poisons, which under a thousand forms enter the animal system, and prepare it for certain dissolution sooner or later. Every month may be said to have its peculiar epidemic,—January its influenza, attended by coughs, soreness of the respiratory muscles, prostration of strength, and a sense of suffocation;—February its rheumatism, and those affections of the throat so fatal to children;—March its pleurisy, pectoral complaints, and catarrhal fevers;—April its scarlatina;—May, June and July, their bilious maladies;—August its cholera-morbus;—September its small-pox and measles;—October, November and December, their typhus and other maladies which, from the want of cleanliness, comfortable clothing, good fires, and ventilated habitations, prove so destructive, especially to the poor. With

all these disorders, which in their progress sweep away great numbers of those who had commenced the year in perfect health, the changes in the atmosphere have an intimate connexion.

The instrumentality by which those changes are wrought, is one of the secrets of nature still to be discovered. Any circumstance which disturbs the usual proportion between the two great elements, oxygen and azote; any operation of the electric fluid, for example, which may serve to combine the two gases by combustion for a day, or even for an hour, would be sufficient to produce consequences destructive, rapidly, or gradually, but with a dire certainty, to myriads of every animal that lives in air, or on earth, or in the waters. It has been stated, and with a very great appearance of probability, that the cholera which beginning in India some years ago, subsequently took its course through almost every nation on the globe, was produced, or at least very much increased in its intensity, by impure gases mingled with our firmament, which had their origin in the atmosphere of the comet then passing near our planet.\*

What are called "dry fogs," must be the result of matters held in the atmosphere in a state of suspension or dissolution. Of one of these extraordinary phenomena we find the following account, in Dr. Prout's Bridgewater treatise; his observations also on the cholera, which prevailed in London in 1832, will be found well worthy of attention:—

"In the year 1782, and still more in the year following, a remarkable haze of this kind extended over the whole of Europe. Seen in mass, this haze was of a pale blue colour; it was thickest at noon, where the sun appeared through it of a red colour. Rain did not in the least degree affect it. This haze is said to have possessed drying properties, and to have occasionally yielded a strong and peculiar odour. It is also said to have deposited in some places a viscid liquid, of an acrid taste, and of an unpleasant smell. About the same time, there were, in Calabria and in Iceland, terrible earthquakes, accompanied by volcanic eruptions. These earthquakes and eruptions, were supposed to have been connected with the haze; indeed it has been generally remarked, that such a condition of the atmosphere has been usually preceded by an earthquake, either in the same or in some

\* Mr. Rogerson, an eminent surgeon of Liverpool, has recently maintained, before the Medical Society of that town, that the epidemics of 1834, 5, 6 and 7 were caused by a prevailing *negative* state of electricity in the air, causing inflammation of the mucous membranes of the lungs and bowels. And this is certainly borne out by the fact, that during six entire weeks that the cholera raged in Liverpool, the mean of the electricity was 11. *minus*, without any *plus* electricity whatever.

adjoining country. The dispersion of the haze in the summer of 1783, was attended by severe thunder storms. As might be expected, the general state of health has, for the most part, been deranged, during the continuance of these phenomena; simultaneously there have been epidemic diseases of various kinds. Thus, in the above mentioned years, 1782 and 1783, an epidemic catarrh, or influenza, prevailed throughout Europe; affecting not only mankind, but likewise other animals.

"The nature of the matter thus diffused through the atmosphere is quite unknown. It may be as various at different times, as the character of the epidemics to which it gives origin. As an example of the extraordinary effects which foreign bodies, when diffused through the atmosphere, are capable of producing, we may mention those produced by selenium, when, in combination with hydrogen, it is diffused as a gas through the air, even in the most minute quantity. The effects of this gaseous combination of selenium with hydrogen, are thus described by the celebrated chemist, Berzelius, its discoverer. 'In the first experiment which I made on the inhalation of this gas, I conceive that I let up into my nostrils a bubble of gas, about the size of a small pea. It deprived me so completely of the sense of smell, that I could apply a bottle of concentrated ammonia to my nose without perceiving any odour. After five or six hours, I began to recover the sense of smell, but a severe catarrh remained for about fifteen days. On another occasion, while preparing this gas, I became sensible of a slight hepatic odour, because the vessel was not quite close; but the aperture was very small, and when I covered it with a drop of water, small bubbles were seen to issue, about the size of a pin's head. To avoid being incommoded with the gas, I put the apparatus under the chimney of the laboratory. I felt at first a sharp sensation in my nose; my eyes then became red, and other symptoms of catarrh began to appear, but only to a trifling extent. In half an hour, I was seized with a dry and painful cough, which continued for a long time, and which was at last accompanied by an expectoration, having a taste entirely like that of the vapour from a boiling solution of corrosive sublimate. These symptoms were removed by the application of a blister to my chest. *The quantity of seleniuretted hydrogen gas, which on each of these occasions, entered into my organs of respiration was much smaller than would have been required of any other inorganic substance whatever, to produce similar effects.\**

"As we have already stated, selenium is for the most part found in association with mineral sulphur; selenium is also, like sulphur, a volcanic product. Now, though we can hardly imagine the possibility of the diffusion of selenium through the atmosphere in combination with hydrogen; selenium may be so diffused in some other form of combination, which may produce effects analogous to those of seleniu-

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\* Annals of Philosophy, Old Series, vol. xiv. p. 101.

retted hydrogen. We do not mean to assert that the diffusion of any such substance really takes place. Our intention is merely to show that a small quantity of an active ingredient, like selenium, is sufficient to contaminate the atmosphere over a wide extent of country. Such a substance being ejected from the crater of a volcano during an eruption, or through a crevice in the earth during an earthquake, may thus produce an epidemic disease; nor is it improbable that many epidemics, particularly those of a catarrhal kind, have so originated.

"The matters occasionally diffused through the atmosphere, which appear to be in a state of solution, are not often perceptible by our senses, unless in some cases, perhaps, by the sense of smell.

"As an instance of the presence of such bodies in the atmosphere, we may mention a very remarkable observation, which occurred to the writer of this treatise during the late prevalence of epidemic cholera. He had for some years been occupied in investigations regarding the atmosphere; and for more than six weeks, previously to the appearance of cholera in London, had almost every day, been engaged in endeavouring to determine, with the utmost possible accuracy, the weight of a given quantity of air, under precisely the same circumstances of temperature and of pressure. On a particular day, the 9th of February, 1832, the weight of the air suddenly appeared to rise above the usual standard. As the rise was at the time supposed to be the result of some accidental error, or of some derangement in the apparatus employed; in order to discover its cause, the succeeding observations were made with the most rigid scrutiny. But no error or derangement whatever could be detected. On the days immediately following, the weight of the air still continued above the standard; though not quite so high as on the 9th of February, when the change was first noticed. The air retained its augmented weight during the whole time these experiments were carried on, namely, about six weeks longer. The increase of the weight of the air observed in these experiments, was small; but still decided and real. The method of conducting the experiments, was such as not to allow of an error, at least, to an amount so great as the additional weight, without the cause of that error having become apparent. There seems, therefore, to be only one mode of rationally explaining this increased weight of the air at London in February, 1832; which is, by admitting the diffusion of some gaseous body through the air of this city, considerably heavier than the air it displaced. About the 9th of February the wind in London, which had previously been W. veered round to the E., and remained pretty steadily in that quarter, till the end of the month. Now, precisely on the change of the wind, the first cases of epidemic cholera were reported in London; and from that time the disease continued to spread. That the epidemic cholera was the effect of the peculiar condition of the atmosphere, is more perhaps than can be safely maintained; but reasons, which have been advanced elsewhere, lead the writer of this treatise to believe that the virulent disease, termed cholera, was owing to the same matter that produced the additional weight of the air."—Prout, pp. 347-53.



That the atmosphere ordinarily contains a great proportion of the electric fluid, is a fact proved by repeated experiment. It exists there usually in a dissolved, or rather attenuated state, until it is subjected to violent friction; and then it will give off sparks, and even continued light, or lightning, as we may see in the thunder storm. The friction that produces the lightning of the storm, however, is the result of some particular combinations, which occasionally take place in the firmament, and which have not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. The ordinary theory upon the subject is, that clouds charged with opposite kinds of electricity, (positive and negative) meet in the air, and repel each other. The collision causes the lightning, and the rush of the lightning through the clouds produces the sound which we call thunder. . This theory wants examination, which it would be useless to institute until we are better acquainted with the atmosphere.

The electric fluid is subject also to a regular perpetual friction from the earth moving on its own axis. It is yet to be ascertained whether this action of the earth on the electric medium by which it is surrounded, is not intimately connected with the Northern and Southern Auroral lights, and also with the direction and variations of the needle. The friction in question, undoubtedly, increases the intensity of the fluid near the surface of the earth; and this intensity would go on always augmenting, unless some provision were made for restoring the equilibrium of the fluid in the atmosphere. Now according to the doctrine of Professor Daniell, there is twice as much light and heat absorbed in the Polar regions, as there is in those of the Tropics. If this be so, there must be a constant current of the electric fluid, (which is in fact a heated subtile element, always capable of being made luminous) from the equator towards the poles. The magnetic needle is, very probably, but the index of that current, as the vane is of the prevailing wind; hence the direction of the compass in a line that would always be parallel to the axis of the earth, were it not for the divergences which take place in the electric current as it approaches the poles. Those divergences would seem to be necessary to the due distribution of the fluid throughout those colder regions of the atmosphere; and when, from any cause, the current is swollen with more of the fluid than those regions can absorb, it will be driven back. The action of repulsion would render the superfluous portion of the current more or less luminous, and hence might arise the phenomena which we call the Auroral lights. When we say that the

surplus portion of the fluid not absorbed in the "colder regions" of the poles, will be "driven back," we assume that there are regions, both in the extreme North and the extreme South, which are less cold than those where the greatest accumulation of ice takes place. This assumption, though apparently paradoxical, is justified by the fact, that the late Russian expedition under the command of M. Von Wrangel, has discovered an open navigable sea beyond the seventy-second degree of North latitude; and when we consider the briny character of that sea, which prevents it from being frozen, we seem justified in concluding that the climate between lat. 72 and lat. 90 is much milder than it is at what may be called the zone of perpetual ice, found southward of lat. 72. It is moreover well ascertained, that the Auroral lights do not descend from the higher regions of the atmosphere. On the contrary, they uniformly ascend from the lower regions to the higher, and indeed are usually seen within a few miles of the earth's surface. They would appear, therefore, to be altogether of earthly origin: and this induction further favours the supposition, that as there is a Southern as well as a Northern Aurora, so also there is an extreme Southern as well as an extreme Northern, unfrozen Polar ocean.

We have not yet collected data sufficiently numerous to enable us to speak with anything like confidence upon this subject; all we can do, is to throw out for the examination of other minds the thoughts that occur to our own. That there is a true magnetic pole—that is a point to which the needle is always true in its direction,—seems highly probable. Indeed the two variations W. and E., and the increase of the variations on either side from the meridian where they begin, would seem to establish the fact. But we have not yet made sufficient progress in the South, to be able to draw the line of invariable polarity from the Arctic to the Antarctic regions. The observations already made, imperfect though they be, would lead us to suspect that the variations of the needle will be found to correspond pretty nearly in both those sections of the globe. The oscillations of a minor character which occasionally take place, would seem to be the result of local influence, or perhaps of partial accidental accumulations of the electric element.

The electro-magnetic fluid is known to be developed by the unequal distribution of heat through bodies. Why this happens, we know not, but the phenomenon is well established. The earth in its diurnal motion on its axis from West to East, has its surface successively exposed to the solar rays in an

opposite direction, East to West. The surface therefore, particularly between the tropics, will be heated and cooled from East to West, and thus tributary currents of electricity will be established in that direction. M. Pouillet has proved,\* by direct experiment, that the combination of oxygen with the materials of living plants, is a constant source of electricity; and he has shown that a surface of 100 square metres, in full vegetation, disengages in the course of a day as much vitreous electricity, as would charge a powerful battery. Another source is evaporation. A third, and no doubt the most powerful of all, is the solar light; for that light is itself most probably oxygen, compressed and collected there for the purpose of distribution, throughout our whole system. With reference to the first of the sources of the fluid above first mentioned, Mr. Leithead has recently discovered that the effect of an unequal state of temperature, even in *one* metal, will deflect the needle. His account of his experiment is as follows:—

“ I first took a tin plate, and soldered to each end (near the edge,) a copper wire. I supported the plate on a glass pillar. I then took a little cotton wool, and placed it on one of the extremities of the plate. I connected the apparatus with the galvanoscope, by means of the copper wires, and then poured a little sulphuric æther on the cotton wool. As the æther evaporated, intense cold was produced at that end of the plate, and, as I anticipated, the needle was deflected. When the needle rested, the *heat of the hand* was quite sufficient to cause a *second* deflection !”

This experiment proves not only the fact that evaporation in general, which is only another expression for difference of temperature, produces electricity; but also, as Mr. Leithead justly remarks, “teaches us what an incalculable quantity of the subtile fluid must be in constant motion around us.” It is a remarkable circumstance, however, which M. Pouillet has demonstrated, that the conversion of water chemically *pure* into vapour excites no electric tension,—probably because the process of purification expels from it its oxygen.

The dip or depression of the point of the needle, is one of the mysteries of magnetism as yet unsolved. At the equator, it assumes a perfectly horizontal position,—that is, a position exactly parallel to the axis of the earth. In the latitude of London, it dips nearly at an angle of 70.; over the pole it would be vertical. Is not this tendency of the needle downward to be attributed to the spherical form of the earth? The

\* Annales de Chimie et de Physique, 1827. See also his *Elémens de Physique*, Liv. ix. chap. 6.

globe is itself a magnet, by reason of the quantity of electric fluid which it contains, not merely at its surface, but intermixed with the fires and waters, and innumerable metallic and others substances within its interior. The point of the needle is consequently, by the attraction of the mass, deflected downwards as it proceeds from the equator to the pole. If we could suppose the surface of the earth a perfect level from the equator to the pole, the horizontal position of the needle could undergo no change. But in fact, a line drawn from the equator to the pole, must conform with the segment of a circle, and the point of the needle following the segment so described, must of necessity descend lower in proportion to its distance from the equator where it is held exactly balanced.

It would be impossible, without going far beyond the limits which a periodical journal can afford for any one subject, however important, to enter at present, into all, or even a few of the remaining topics which the study of the atmosphere opens for discussion. They are indeed inexhaustible. The subject of the "winds" alone, would require a volume. And then we should have to go through the distribution of temperature in the atmosphere, the production of rain, hail, snow: the causes of that colouring matter which, in former ages, affrighted the nations under the appearance of showers of blood; of the lunar atmospheric tides, of the formation of the different species of clouds, and of those beautiful meteors which within these last few years, especially, have been so much noticed in the heavens, almost annually, between the 12th and 15th of November.

A few striking facts with reference to some of these points, are all that we shall now venture upon. It is a singular circumstance, mentioned by Lieut. Colonel Reid, in his observations on the "law of storms," that no storm has ever been known to occur at St. Helena. The degree of magnetic intensity there is the lowest yet ascertained on the globe. That fortunate island may be said, therefore, to be placed in the true Pacific ocean of the world.

At Geneva, on the 25th of October, 1822, there fell thirty inches of rain in one day. An example still more extraordinary has been recently quoted by M. Arago, and which is perfectly authentic. At Joyeuse, in the department of the Ardeche, on the 9th of October, 1827, there fell above thirty-one (English) inches of rain in twenty-two hours.

All the researches hitherto made with respect to hail, would lead us to believe that it is peculiar to temperate climates, that it rarely occurs beyond the latitude of 60, that it

is most frequent in spring and summer, when it is often accompanied by thunder, that it is very seldom seen in winter, and that hail during the night is very uncommon.

"In tropical countries," says Dr. Prout, "there is little hail in any place that is not more than 2,000 feet above the level of the sea; in temperate climates on the contrary, mountain tops are almost free from hail; certain countries, especially some parts of France, are very liable to hail storms; and such is at times the fury of these storms that they lay waste whole districts. There are on record many instances of these calamitous visitations, which are usually accompanied by whirlwinds, and by the most appalling electrical phenomena. During storms of such degrees of severity, hail stones have sometimes fallen of enormous magnitude, and often of an irregular shape, as if they were the fragments of a thick sheet of ice suddenly broken; a supposition which alone will explain the formation of angular masses, many inches in size, and many pounds in weight. The production in the middle of summer of the intense cold that is thus indicated, is a puzzle which philosophers have been unable to solve." *Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 336-7.

Upon the great importance of the careful observation of the changes which are constantly taking place in the atmosphere, commentary would be superfluous. We cannot however resist the temptation of transferring to our pages the following just and eloquent remarks on this subject, contained in a paper presented to the Meteorological Society, by Mr. John Ruskin of Christ Church, Oxford.

"It is a science of the pure air, and the bright heaven; its thoughts are amidst the loveliness of creation; it leads the mind, as well as the eye, to the morning mist, and the noon-day glory, and the twilight cloud,—to the purple peace of the mountain heaven,—to the cloudy repose of the green valley; now expatiating in the silence of stormless æther,—now on the rushing of the wings of the wind. It is indeed a knowledge, which must be felt to be, in its very essence, full of the soul of the beautiful. For its interest, it is universal; unabated in every place, and in all time. He, whose kingdom is the heaven, can never meet with an uninteresting space,—can never exhaust the phenomena of an hour: he is in a realm of perpetual change,—of eternal motion,—of infinite mystery. Light and darkness, and cold and heat, are to him as friends of familiar countenance, but of infinite variety of conversation; and while the geologist yearns for the mountain, the botanist for the field, and the mathematician for the study, the meteorologist, like a spirit of a higher order than any, rejoices in the kingdoms of the air.

"But, as we before said, it is neither for its interest, nor for its beauty, that we recommend the study of meteorology. It involves questions of the highest practical importance, and the solution of

which will be productive of most substantial benefit to those classes who can least comprehend the speculations from which these advantages are derived. Times and seasons, and climates, calms and tempests, clouds and winds, whose alterations appear to the inexperienced mind the confused consequences of irregular, indefinite, and accidental causes, arrange themselves before the meteorologist in beautiful succession of undisturbed order, in direct derivation from definite causes ; it is for him to trace the path of the tempest round the globe,—to point out the place whence it arose,—to foretell the time of its decline,—to follow the hours around the earth, as she “ spins beneath her pyramids of night,”—to feel the pulses of the ocean,—to pursue the course of its currents and its changes,—to measure the power, direction, and duration of mysterious and invisible influences, and to assign constant and regular periods to the seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night, which we know shall not cease, till the universe be no more. It may be thought we are exaggerating the effects of a science which is yet in its infancy. But, it must be remembered, that we are not speaking of its attained, but of its attainable power ; it is the young Hercules, for the fostering of whose strength the Meteorological Society has been formed.

\* \* \* \* \* It wishes to be the central point, the moving power, of a vast machine, and it feels that unless it can be this, it must be powerless ; if it cannot do all, it can do nothing. It desires to have at its command, at stated periods, perfect systems of methodical, and simultaneous observations ; it wishes its influence and its power to be omnipresent over the globe, so that it may be able to know, at any given instant, the state of the atmosphere at every point on its surface. Let it not be supposed that this is a chimerical imagination, the vain dream of a few philosophical enthusiasts. It is co-operation which we now come forward to request, in full confidence, that if our efforts are met with a zeal worthy of the cause, our associates will be astonished, *individually*, by the result of their labours in a body. Let none be discouraged, because they are alone, or far distant from their associates. What was formerly weakness, will now have become strength. Let the pastor of the Alps observe the variations of his mountain winds ; let the voyager send us notes of their changes on the surface of the sea ; let the solitary dweller in the American Prairie observe the passages of the storms, and the variations of the climate ; and each, who alone would have been powerless, will find himself a part of one mighty mind,—a ray of light entering into one vast eye,—a member of a multitudinous power, contributing to the knowledge, and aiding the efforts, which will be capable of solving the most deeply hidden problems of nature, penetrating into the most occult causes, and reducing to principle and order, the vast multitude of beautiful and wonderful phenomena, by which the wisdom and benevolence of the Supreme Deity, regulates the course of the times and the seasons, robes the globe with verdure, and fruitfulness, and adapts it to minister to the wants, and contri-



bute to the felicity, of the innumerable tribes of animated existence." *Transactions, &c.* pp. 57-9.

To bring the matter home to "our own business and bosoms," it seems only necessary to add that, in one word, the whole of the vast commercial transactions of this great country are controlled by the atmosphere. To the variations which take place in that portion of our terrestrial system we owe (under the order of providence,) the succession of our harvests. The deficiency of the unfavourable season must be supplied by the importation of corn from abroad; that commodity being purchased chiefly in countries, which do not admit (except at very high duties,) our manufactures, and the operations generally being of an urgent character, the remittances in exchange for the importations must be principally in gold. The gold goes out of the coffers of the bank. The bank, in order to protect itself, the moment it begins to feel its average store of bullion diminishing in a serious proportion, will contract its issues, and call in its credits. The result is, depression of prices of all articles, the stoppage of mills in every direction, the dismissal of operatives, and these events occurring simultaneously with a rise in the price of bread, and the bankruptcy of many traders possessing only fictitious or very limited capitals, the whole country becomes a scene of discontent and confusion. These are events which happen with us periodically.

It would seem therefore to be one of the most important duties of government to provide, as far as possible, against the frequent return of catastrophes of this description. It is obvious that constant attention to the phenomena of the atmosphere, would often enable the government to judge pretty accurately of the coming season, and to make provision accordingly. Whether it might, or might not, be expedient to retain in public granaries, from the superabundant harvest of one or more years, a supply always adequate to the deficit of a disastrous season, is a question much too large for incidental discussion. But we apprehend there can be no doubt that the government is bound, by the duty which it owes to the community entrusted to its care, to assist by every means in its power, (and those means are very extensive,) the excellent society whose transactions are recorded in the volume before us. The police who are awake night and day; the harbour-masters; the persons to whom the care of light-houses is entrusted; the officers of the coast guard; should all be enjoined to make daily and nightly returns of the weather, either to a

department of government created for that purpose; or to the Meteorological Society. There are many private individuals who keep diaries of the weather for their own amusement. They could make no better use of their journals than by sending copies of them to the society.

We would take the liberty of recommending to the society, the establishment of a periodical publication, weekly, monthly, or even quarterly, of the information which they might thus receive. To have produced only one volume of Transactions during an existence of seventeen years, is a mode of proceeding not calculated to confer any material benefit on society. Upon the appearance, however, even of this their first-born, we do most sincerely congratulate them. It is not indeed arranged with much skill. There are many pages of repetition that might have been well spared, and the price of the volume is also beyond the necessity of the case; still we wish to be indulgent, and to refrain from any remarks that might check their disposition to pursue the most useful labours which they have undertaken. We are happy to observe that they have already adopted measures for extending the sphere of their utility, by multiplying the stations where meteorological observations are to be made. We shall be glad to see the results as speedily as possible, in a second volume of their Transactions.

ART. II.—1. *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare.* By the Rt. Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay. 2 vols. 1840.

2. *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare.* Edited by Charles Knight. Histories, Vol. I. 1839.

“IT was not without real diffidence,” says Mr. Courtenay, “that I attempted further comments upon Shakspeare. I do not affect to have discovered new beauties in that writer, nor can I boast of the power to place in a more striking light, those which have now for some ages delighted the readers of the English language. But it appeared to me, that (after all the volumes which have been written) there are points of view in which a large portion of the works of Shakspeare are still to be considered.”

On reading this paragraph, our curiosity was at once excited. We felt anxious to learn what were these new “points of

view," which had suddenly flashed on the vision of the ex-vice-president of the Board of Trade, inducing him to enter that field, on which Coleridge and the Schlegels had earned some of their fairest honours, and from which so many of our olden critics had long since been driven with disgrace. We were indeed greatly at a loss to guess, what could be the contents of two volumes of *Commentaries on Shakspeare*, which professed neither to discover new beauties, nor to place the old ones in a more striking light. We had hitherto imagined, that, in exploring the depths of the rich Shakspearean mine, the dullest guide would have stumbled on some vein of virgin ore, and that none would have gone thither for the *sole* purpose of warning us against setting too high a value on the precious metal.

Yet such, if we rightly understand him, is the design of Mr. Courtenay. He proposes to show, that either Shakspeare, "or his more ancient author, has taken such liberties with facts and dates, and has omissions so important, as to make the (historical) pieces, however admirable as a drama, quite unsuitable as a medium of instruction to the English youth."

And therewith he proceeds to write a series of laboured disquisitions, tending to prove, amongst many other things of a similar character,—by reference to all kinds of authorities, and diligent collation of the old chronicles,—that King John after all might have had a good title to the crown of England,—that the Lady Constance had married a third husband, and was already in her grave at the time of the battle of Mirabeau,—that Richard II never saw his queen after he went to Ireland, that Aumerle's mother died some years before the date of the conspiracy against Bolingbroke,—that Hotspur is not known to have been "irascible," and that there is no warrant in history for making Owen Glendower a *bore*,—that archbishop Chicheley (if ever he spoke that speech on the succession to the French throne) must certainly have been mistaken in his genealogy, for that Hugh Capet had no ancestress of the name of Lingare,—that it was at Meulan, and not at Troyes, that Henry V bestowed his first kiss upon Catherine, and so on to the end of the chapter. Now in all this we have much pleasure in admitting, that Mr. Courtenay has displayed a spirit of careful and patient research, which, in many employments of life, would be highly praiseworthy. But we still have to enquire, how far it has fitted him for a commentator on the works of Shakspeare, and whether such creditable industry might not have been better applied to some other purpose.

And first, we hold ourselves in justice bound to declare, that Mr. Courtenay has no hostile intentions with regard to the great dramatist. On the contrary, he everywhere speaks of him in a kind of patronising tone, and is very anxious to guard against the possible effect of the *Commentaries*, in deterring the youth of England from perusing the historical plays. "I should indeed be sorry," he exclaims, "that the doubts I have raised of their historical accuracy should lessen the pleasure of any one in reading them." He evidently feels a sort of "sneaking kindness" for the Bard of Avon. He would be loath to do him a mortal injury. He was "bred up upon Shakspeare and the History of England," and if he have lost his taste for one portion of that early food, the meat has not been quite turned into poison. Though he fears, that "nearly every speech in Shakspeare contains something that a delicate and correct critic would expunge or alter;" though he believes the great poet "to have been a very idle man," and shrewdly suspects, that he "made the persons of his drama act *heterogeneously*, as he saw his neighbours act, and that he did not, in the one case more than in the other, draw the whole character in his mind;" though he claims for some of the novellists of our own day, a superiority over him who has been called the *thousand-souled*, "not only in the interest of the story, but in the accurate, varied, contrasted, and curiously-shaded discrimination of human character;" still he finds a charm in the "splendid and stately speeches," nor does he pretend to name any modern author, "in whom a *just and striking* portraiture of character is connected with so much of splendid versification, so much of lofty and affecting poetry, by turns didactic, descriptive, affecting, tremendous, so many acute and ingenious reflections and precepts, and so much withal of dramatic excellence, as in Shakspeare." After which liberal admission, couched as it is in the guarded language of a *delicate and correct critic*, he thinks it necessary to repeat his warning to the youth of England, in whom he evidently feels a quite paternal interest, that they should not, *for anything that he (Mr. Courtenay) writes*, "love Shakspeare the less, but that they should study history the more." In these few sentences, the reader will have remarked some of Mr. Courtenay's leading characteristics. He will not have failed to perceive traces of that *ingenuous modesty*, which once led the right honourable gentleman to avow, that, "his mind was a blank sheet of paper." He will next have admired in strong contrast with the last-mentioned quality, that species of *original boldness*, with which

the critic has handled a great name : and if our too fastidious reader should deem that something of *reverence* may here be wanting, we will hasten to reassure him on this head, by showing, that a higher reverence than he wots of was present in Mr. Courtenay's mind. The right honourable gentleman appears in the character of an iconoclast. He cannot bear to think, that idolatrous worship should be rendered to a human being. His piety revolts at the notion ; the spirit of John Knox stirs within him, and so, like one of the image-breakers of the sixteenth century, he catches up his sledge-hammer, ponderous as Thor's, and demolishes the shrines of genius, and scatters the relics of the mighty dead. It is really amusing to see, with what animation he pleads against our exaggerated estimate of Shakspeare's powers, just as if the *nil admirari* contained the pith and marrow of human wisdom, and with what a religious horror he denounces our profane deification of Shakspeare's memory, as if it were not to worship God, to honour Him in one of the noblest of his creatures. "Coleridge," says Mr. Courtenay, "is one of those who acknowledging, as Christians or philosophers, the imperfection of every thing human, yet conceive that it pleased Providence to make one exception ; and to favour the reign of Elizabeth, the kingdom of England, the county of Warwick, the town of Stratford-upon-Avon, and the one man Shakspeare born there, with an exemption from this otherwise universal rule . . . Hallam says truly," he continues, "that we contemplate Shakspeare with idolatry : the term is fully justified by Coleridge's professed belief, that Shakspeare's genius was *super-human*—language, I presume to say, equally absurd and blasphemous."

We hope that our malicious reader may not here be reminded of the old story of the Athenian, who voted for the banishment of Aristides, because he was tired of hearing him called *the just*. It is true, that absolute justice, like any other species of absolute perfection, ought not to be ascribed to a fallible human being ; and the Athenian, like Mr. Courtenay, was, no doubt, wise in his generation. If ever a literary ostracism should be established amongst us, it will be curious to note the mental structure of those persons that inscribe on their oyster-shells the names of the Miltons and Shakspeares.

Whilst on the subject of Mr. Courtenay, we will just allude to one or two more of his little peculiarities. The law of association acts on his mind in a very remarkable manner. We all know Fluellen's mode of reasoning when comparing Henry

of Monmouth with Alexander of Macedon; but some of Mr. Courtenay's analogies are not less ingenious. Sometimes a word, a name, transports him from the fields of France to the floor of the British House of Commons. Mr. Canning rises to his view in the midst of the distresses of Richard the Second—Arthur of Brittany calls up the image of the renowned Prince Arthur, and *he* again reminds him of Charles Wynn and the Duke of Wellington. The latter allusion is introduced after this fashion:—"I do not know precisely what the great deeds were which the fabulous Arthur of old times was supposed to perform. It may be doubted whether they exceeded those which the real and true Arthur of our days has accomplished." Sometimes he indulges in a sly, political sarcasm, such as—"Radicals, *perhaps*, are not readers of Shakspeare." Then he has sundry apprehensions, which are certainly confined to his own bosom. He believes that the taste for Shakspeare has declined since the days of his childhood, though within a few years there have been some symptoms of a revival; he thinks that the English youth have become less familiar with the works of the great poet than formerly—a reason, one would imagine, for not writing commentaries to warn them against his magic arts—and he gravely expresses a fear, that when Tom Campbell (as he unceremoniously calls him) says that "the description of the night before the battle of Agincourt will be repeated by the youth of England when our children's children shall be grey with age," his truly poetical friend describes what ought to be, not what is or will be. Last of all, Mr. Courtenay is a great sceptic. He sees no evidence of design in Shakspeare's historical characters, and he goes on to observe:—"I confess that my opinion is founded upon observation, not only of Shakspeare and his plays, but upon what generally passes in the world! I am a great disbeliever in complicated plots and deep-laid intrigues. I suspect that in nine cases out of ten, in which elaborate design is imputed to what a man says or does, the imputation is false or exaggerated." To the comprehensiveness of this last sentence there is really nothing to be added.

Having thus glanced at a few of the eccentricities of Mr. Courtenay, we now come seriously to consider the proposition, that Shakspeare has taken such liberties with history, as to render his plays quite unsuitable *as a medium of instruction to the English youth*.

Much will depend on the meaning of this word *history*. If it denote merely, *a record of past events*, there is no fixing



any limit to its application. Not only would the dullest chronicle that ever begot a head-ache be included in this definition—but speeches in parliament, police-reports, and all the multifarious contents of a daily newspaper, and even private letters, and the books of merchants, journals of every description, whether kept by saints or sinners, young ladies, or methodist parsons, would each and all be entitled to be classed under the same head. Or, if it be urged that these are only the materials of history, and that the duty of the historian is to make a selection or abstract from these different sources, so as to arrange his facts in a certain order, and present them in a convenient form to the reader; still it must be allowed, that such a mechanical employment could never have obtained that honour which is everywhere conceded to the name. If this were all, industry and patience would be the two prime qualities of an historian, and Mr. Courtenay himself might aspire to be thus distinguished. But no! it is not to these virtues—useful, indeed, but by no means rare—that all the nations of the earth have consented to pay homage; nor is it upon such terms that Clio sits crowned among the Muses.

Let us turn to Johnson's Dictionary—a book, be it observed in passing, which we never can open without a feeling of sincere respect for the memory of the great man who contrived to infuse so much wit and wisdom into the dry labours of the lexicographer. But what says the good Doctor as to the meaning of the word history? Here we have it: "A narration of events and facts, *delivered with dignity*!"—If this be a right solution, surely the doctor himself was no mean historian; for, when did he ever narrate the most trivial fact, whether to giant Burke, or diminutive Boswell, to his Sovereign, or to his own Tetsey, whether quaffing *bishop* at a tavern, or lolling over the tea-board at Mrs. Thrale's, that he did not deliver himself with a dignity which belonged to his very nature? It is obvious to us, in spite of the doctor's definition, that the claim of any narrative to be considered history, does not depend merely upon the *manner* of relating it.

But what, then, is the true meaning and end of history? Is it, as some have deemed, to be looked upon as *philosophy teaching by example*? We like this definition better than the preceding ones, because it implies that we are not to expect merely a dry series of facts, following each other in the order of time, or according to any arbitrary arrangement; but such a disposition of those facts as must show the presence of design—in other terms, a *work of art*. But then we object to

the words *philosophy* and *teaching*, because they convey to the mind a false notion, that the historian has always something to prove—some theory to make out for the instruction of the reader. True it is, that many of our histories have been written upon this plan; but the consequence has been that they fall short of their true purpose, and degenerate into party politics or religious controversy. If we, in our turn, were to try our hand at a definition, we think we should endeavour to explain our meaning of the word history, by a simple reference to one of the fine arts. We should call it a *PICTURE of the past life of nations*.

And if we come to examine it closely, we shall find that the analogy holds good in more than one respect. When the painter has fixed on a subject—which, of course, in this instance we suppose to be historical—when he has made himself acquainted with all the circumstances connected with it—when he knows not only the particulars of the scene to be represented, but the characters of the persons concerned, and the whole series of events that preceded and followed the action—when he has, moreover, collected whatever information comes in his way, with regard to time and place, habits and customs—we feel that he has only performed the least portion of his task. Thousands might have done the same, of whom scarce a dozen would be able to sketch the plan of a great picture, and of whom not one perhaps could execute the design when formed. It is now that he has to consider, first, the effect to be produced, and secondly, the means of producing it. He knows that he cannot represent the whole scene exactly as it passed, because there is no *daguerreotype* of man's invention that reflects back the images of former centuries, and fixes them for ever in all their minute detail. But he knows also by unerring instinct—if he be really an artist, and not a mere dauber—that he must endeavour to convey to the mind of the spectator a perfect copy of the idea he has himself conceived. To do this with effect, he must not crowd together all the persons and things that have any reference to the subject; he must neither marshal them in procession, nor heap them pellmell upon his canvass; but by skilful arrangement, by prudent omissions, by proportioning every part to the other, and making each conducive to the completeness and perfection of the whole—he will succeed in presenting us with a work, of which we shall at once acknowledge the truth as well as the beauty. Nay more—if he have seized and preserved the essential spirit of the scene, we shall not quarrel with slight

anachronisms, or mistakes of locality or costume. If, in a picture of the *death of Virginia*, we trace not only the struggle of the father's feelings, but the stern resolve of the Roman citizen—not only the purity of the maiden, but something of that national pride of chastity, which pointed the dagger of Lucretia, and distinguished in after years the great mother of the Gracchi—if we see in the looks and attitude of all the persons engaged in the action (the cruel decemvir, the false client, the bereaved lover, the awe-struck guards, the incensed multitude) not only the passions common to men in their situation, but also that rude massiveness of character which belonged to them as children of old Rome—we shall not fail to recognise the work as a true historical study; and we scarce shall have patience to listen to the learned blockhead that would criticise the position of the shambles, or the shape of the butcher's cleaver.

The task of the historian is not unlike that of his brother artist. He must select and arrange his materials very nearly on the same principle; only that as to him more has been given, more will be required at his hands. The picture which he draws is not limited to a fixed place, or a mere moment of time; he may range over any number of years, and transport us to all parts of the habitable globe. Nor is he confined to the use of a few colours, or hemmed within the boundaries of a square piece of canvass; he has at his command the vast machinery of human language, with all its endless combinations, and ever expansive force; and the length of the work to be produced is not often determined by any arbitrary rule. He has, therefore, many advantages over the painter, and it is very naturally expected that his picture should be more varied and more complete. Yet, after all is done, a picture it will remain: not the thing itself, but a representation—not a reality, but a shadow—belonging to the domain of art, and suggesting far more than it distinctly shows—bringing back to us the men of past centuries, not as a mere heap of dry bones collected from the tomb, nor yet in the exact shape in which they once walked the earth, but fashioned so as to indicate what they were, and indued with a kind of ideal life. It is by the imagination only that we have the power to wake the dead.

If any merely literal person should object to this view of the case, that on such a theory we might have poets and romancers, but no real historian—we have only to remark, that it is not from any indifference to truth, that we contend for this

mode of writing history. It is rather because we know of no other method by which so large a portion of truth may be obtained. Your annalist will write page after page, volume after volume, in which every one of the facts will be strictly true; and yet the whole work shall convey a false impression to the mind of the reader. The skeleton may be there, but where shall we find the flesh and blood? Surely these must be supplied, if the past is to be anything but a ghastly dream. And how can this be effected, save by the exercise of the highest order of genius?

Therefore, of all the *histories* that are given with so much pomp and bustle to the public, how few are really deserving of the name! It is no light task to build a bridge over the abyss of time, and connect together two worlds; and if it be true, as a poet of our own day has told us, that

“ ————— past and future are the wings,  
On whose support, harmoniously conjoined,  
Moves the great spirit of human knowledge ”—

there can scarcely be any task more important. To perform it well, how many different qualities are required! What powers of thought and expression! What varied attainments! What experience of books and men! What insight into human character! What inexhaustible stores of sympathy! What lofty and impartial justice!—Yet every dull mechanic, that knows how to collect facts by the gross, and compare dates by the two first rules of arithmetic, fancies himself an historian; whilst the truth may, perhaps, be that the world since its creation, has not seen more than some dozen of the true breed, and that all of these (even the greatest) have, in some signal particular, fallen far short of the ideal standard of perfection.

Were we to attempt to describe this ideal standard, we should probably expose ourselves to nearly the same answer as that which Rasselas gave to Imlac's panegyric on poetry “Enough! thou hast convinced me that no human being can ever be a poet”—and, like the sage, we should then be forced to confess, that to be an historian “is indeed very difficult.” Nor shall we fail to come to this last conclusion, if we only consider, without going any further, how few men are able to take a correct view of that which passes before their eyes. Examine three several witnesses of a common street brawl, and each of them will give you a different account, and all of them a wrong one—not from any wish to deceive, but merely from half knowledge, and a sort of natural one-sidedness. The

case will be much stronger if we seek information as to affairs of state, or look for an accurate description of those events on which may depend the destinies of whole nations. And if this be so with all that is passing around us, how must it needs be with the times that are long gone by? True it is, that as we recede from our own age, some of the motives to misrepresentation gradually disappear. We can have no personal quarrels with dust and ashes; our jealousy hardly reaches beyond the portals of the tomb; our vanity and our petty self-interest are not often jostled by departed spirits; and when we have journeyed so far that we lose all traces of our own party language, and find quite another set of symbols and watchwords than those to which we have been accustomed, we are certainly much less likely to be influenced by verbal prejudices. But we must remember that this impartiality is seldom of that genuine kind, which arises from seeing all things in the pure light of day, and so giving to each its natural colours and proportions—but is rather the offspring of a dull hazy twilight, in which we have no preference for any one object, because all are equally indistinct and shadowy. It reminds us of Doctor Bartholo's method of opposing age to youth:—

“ Je ne suis point Tircis ;  
Mais la nuit dans l'ombre  
Je vaux encore mon prix ;  
Et quand il fait sombre  
Les plus beaux chats sont gris ! ”

We are impartial, because we are indifferent. Our antipathies have perished; but so have our sympathies also. We no longer take a side, because we should be at a loss which side to take.

With all these difficulties the historian has to contend. Like the rest of the race of Adam, his knowledge must needs be imperfect; and his vision is often distorted by the *media* through which he surveys the world. He will require many rare gifts and attainments, before he can advance a single step in the practice of his high calling. But if we were asked to point out the one great, leading quality, without which he will never effect anything of the least value, we should name without hesitation that genial and catholic spirit, which is open to every impression, and sympathizes with all mankind. It is this, which enables the historian to pierce beneath the surface of things; to break through the crust of a mere outward and formal morality; to appreciate men's motives, and make due allowance for the circumstances in which they lived; to get rid of all narrowness of thought and precipitancy of

judgment; to cherish no bitter feelings against any of his fellow-creatures; to pity the unfortunate, and still more the criminal; and to look at God's universe, not as a chaos of discordant elements, only to be set right by some snug little theory of his own—but as a great, harmonious whole, of which indeed he can comprehend but a small portion within the limited sphere of his intelligence, yet which holds together in all its parts, so that the actions of men here below, have their fixed and necessary relations with the moral government of the world, whilst amid all the apparent contradictions of this earthly state, there is *order* everywhere to be admired, and *beauty* everywhere to be loved.

Now this prime quality of the mind, without which all others will be but of slight service to the historian, was perhaps never bestowed in such full measure on a mere mortal, as it was on our own Shakspeare. As developed in his writings, it has in it something of god-like. His soul was so attuned to the universal harmony of nature, that whatever *is*, whatever *exists*, found in it a kindred chord; and this catholic state of feeling, by rendering all narrowness impossible, prevented his being biassed by any of the prejudices or passions, which he so thoroughly understood, and of which he has left so graphic a picture. He was impartial, not from ignorance, but from knowledge; not by confounding all things together, because of the imperfect light, but by seeing every object distinctly, and giving to each its due place. There is no other author, be he poet, historian, or philosopher, that can for a moment be compared with him in respect to this largeness and clearness of vision.

But if Shakspeare thus possessed the chief qualification for writing history, was he not also gifted with most of the minor requisites? Where, as in him, shall we find such power of imagination united with such calmness of judgment—such a mixture of luxuriance and health, of intense force and perfect equilibrium? Who has ever combined such a nice observation of particular facts, with such an intuitive perception of general truths? Who could be at once so subtle and so profound? And where has there ever existed a greater master of language? for his style could be brief or diffuse, flowing or elaborate, exquisitely simple or supremely gorgeous, even as the case might demand; so that it has been fitly compared to the polished diamond—magnificent as all other jewels blended in one, yet transparent as pure water, having no distinct colour itself, but reflecting the varied hues of earth and heaven.



We conclude from these premises, that Shakspeare might have been a great historian, perhaps the greatest the world has yet seen. As picturesque as Livy, he would have surpassed even Tacitus in the delineation of character. But the fates had reserved him for a still higher work than this, and he was to address mankind in a form even more universal than that of history. In the microcosm of the stage, he reproduced his experience of the world and of man. But leaving his Hamlets and Lears out of the question, he wrote, amongst other things, a series of dramatic chronicles, and it is to these only that we need at present allude.

Now it was to be expected, that he, who had such capacities for serving the muse of history, could not have touched so near on the confines of her domain, without producing something excellent in its kind; and accordingly, these expectations have not been disappointed. Standing as they do, midway between the realms of literal fact and poetic invention, these chronicles appear to us to contain whatever is really essential in the former; and, to go on with our previous illustration, borrowed from the art of painting, Shakspeare has here made use of the shadows of fiction, to connect and harmonize the scattered lights of truth. Were we to speak of them as poems, we should be at a loss to express our full sense of their power and beauty; but, looking at them merely as contributions to historical literature, we are perhaps still more astonished at the depth and force of that genius, which could thus embody the spirit of past times, and represent in a play the characteristics of a whole generation. Quite as accurate in matters of detail as the famous legends of Herodotus, and involving far higher truths of another kind, these dramas have done for England more than the history of the Persian wars did for Greece. They have inspired our country's youth, and will long continue to inspire them (notwithstanding the fears and warnings of Mr. Courtenay) with a proud and generous nationality, equally remote from the narrow-minded prejudices of China, and the vague and frothy cosmopolitism of the French *philosophes*. They have taught them to set a just value on the virtues and achievements of their race, to link themselves with the past, by a chain of ennobling associations, and to feel, that the story of their ancestors will have to be continued by their children. Mr. Courtenay may rest assured, that the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Chatham knew very well what they were saying, when they acknowledged their obligations to these historical plays.

Cold indeed must be the heart of that Englishman, who can read these wonderful dramas without fruit, and who has not derived from their pages some lesson of loyalty or of patriotism. We often please ourselves with the reflection, that now, two hundred years after his decease, the genius of Shakspeare may still be guiding the arms and councils of his native land ; that our princes may still learn wisdom at the death-bed of old Gaunt, or from the lips of the fourth Harry ; that our statesmen may still be warned by the fate of Wolsey, and our populace by the follies of Jack Cade ; that the honesty of a Carlisle may still speak truth to the senate, and the spirit of a Gascoigne maintain the independence of the bench ; and that in those far eastern climes, beyond the waters of the Indus—where the lion has yet to do battle with the northern wolves, the young soldier, at a distance from his country and his friends, surrounded by hostile tribes, and amid all the dangers of unequal war, may still “ rouse him at the name of Crispian,” and feel, that “ the fewer men, the greater share of honour.” O long, very long, may the influence of these writings be acknowledged amongst us ! for so shall we best fulfil our own duty as citizens, and teach all the other people of the earth to reverence :—

“ This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,  
 This earth of majesty, this seed of Mars,  
 This other Eden, demi-paradise ;  
 This fortress, built by nature for herself  
 Against infestation and the hand of war ;  
 This happy breed of men, this little world,  
 This precious stone set in the silver sea.  
 Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
 Against the envy of less happier lands ;  
 This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,  
 This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,  
 Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth ;”

and then, if a day of wrath and peril should dawn upon us,—if the nations, jealous of our prosperity, should unite for our destruction,—we shall make up our minds at once, that we, “ who speak the tongue that Shakspeare spake,” must either “ be free or die,” and the loud clear voice of Faulconbridge will ring out bravely in our ears :—

“ This England never did, nor never shall,  
 Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,  
 But when it first did help to wound itself.

Now these her princes are come home again,  
Come the three corners of the world in arms,  
And we shall shock them : Nought shall make us rue,  
If England to itself do rest but true !"

These are the lessons, which, with all due respect for Mr. Courtenay, we believe to be taught by the historical plays of Shakspeare; and we cannot therefore in any sense agree to the proposition, that they are, from inaccuracy of detail, "quite unsuitable as a medium of instruction to the English youth."

If it should be urged, that, admitting all we have said to be true, it is still a harmless and even useful employment, to point out how far Shakspeare has departed from the literal facts of history, and to contrast his finished work with the materials from which it is constructed, we have nothing whatever to object to this view of the case. Had Mr. Courtenay contented himself with this task, he might have deserved well of English readers in general, and would certainly not have provoked any word of censure from us. But it is by attempting an absurd and irreverent criticism, that he has quite thrown into the shade whatever may be otherwise valuable in his labours. He seems to have forgotten the maxim of Magna Charta, and to have treated the great poet, as if he had only to pass judgment on his peer. We tell him, that he is no fit juryman in such a cause, and we challenge him in the name of his country. Nor does this imply any peculiar deficiency in himself; we believe there is no man living, that could have adopted the same *tone* upon this matter, without equally displaying his own hopeless inferiority—we believe, that the only style of remark, which will now be endured with regard to Shakspeare, is one, that does not pretend to pass sentence on faults and omissions, but humbly and reverently to study his works, as we do those of nature herself, to endeavour to discover new beauties, and more fully to illustrate the old.

Of a very different class to the criticisms of Mr. Courtenay, are those contained in the second of the two works, which we have placed together at the head of the present article. In his beautiful edition of Shakspeare, Mr. Knight has spared no pains to give us the text of his author in the most correct and attractive form, and his notes are everywhere valuable, as really throwing light on the poet's meaning. He too has consulted the ancient chronicles, and compared them with the dramatic version of the same stories; but in him, all this was "a labour of love," and the result is worthy of the spirit in

which he worked. Drawing copiously from the stores of Goethe, and Schlegel, and Coleridge, and Lamb, and Hazlitt, making use of a Steevens or a Malone, whenever they could be turned to account, he has yet added much that is original, and must henceforth take his place in the company of the true interpreters of the mighty bard. Rich in the beauties of typography, though we could have wished the text to be a little larger, for the benefit of the thousands that will continue to read it in their old age, and adorned by many exquisite specimens of the art of wood-engraving, this edition will, when completed, be unquestionably the best of its kind. It is one, that we could show to a foreigner without a blush, and lay with a feeling of pleasure at the foot of Shakspeare's monument.

In this first volume of the historical plays, we have King John to Henry V inclusive. Each play is preceded by an introductory notice, containing a careful examination of the state of the text and chronology, an account of the supposed sources from which the plot is derived, and a curious antiquarian dissertation upon period, locality, and costume. A few sensible, glossarial notes are appended at the bottom of the pages, and the close of each act is followed by numerous illustrations, pictorial as well as literary. Thus, in Richard II, we have a full description of the quarrel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, and of the usages observed on that occasion; and, to bring it home to our senses, there is a picture of a knightly combat in the lists, with all the accompaniments of marshals, heralds, and pursuivants. Then, as we continue to trace the career of the unhappy monarch, all the scenes of his misfortunes and his fall, rise one after the other to our view. From the wilds in Gloucestershire, we catch a glimpse of Berkley Castle; we behold the "rude ribs" of that Welsh fortress, where the king received his rebellious cousin; we are thence transported to the honourable tomb, "that stands upon his royal grandsire's bones;" we walk with the "weeping queen," in the Duke of York's garden at Langley; we enter Westminster Hall, and are present at the surrender of the crown; and finally, we see that "street leading to the tower," with its quaint old buildings, and its air of the middle ages, where Richard poured his last tears on the bosom of the gentle Isabel. And when the editor has thus gone along with us through the whole drama, never thrusting himself impertinently in our way, but quietly helping us to understand the text, he sums up his own opinions in a short supplementary

notice, which is generally as able in its execution, as it always is modest in its design.

We need not add, that Mr. Knight has our best wishes for the success of this undertaking. We can scarcely doubt, that, as a pecuniary speculation, it will amply repay him for his liberal outlay of capital; but sure we are, that a higher reward is in store for him. Whilst thousands of critics and commentators will be forthwith buried beneath the weight of their own dulness, or only kept alive for a season, to furnish laughter for gods and men,—it will be his fate to be classed with that nobler band, who have really thrown useful light on the great productions of human genius, and received from the mighty spirits, to whom they have devoted their service, a more than adequate return of lasting and honourable fame.

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ART. III.—*The Literary Class Book, or Fourth Series of Select Reading Lessons in prose and verse; Compiled by the Brothers of the Christian Schools.* Dublin, 1840.

WE congratulate the public on the appearance of this cheap and unpretending volume. The skill displayed in selecting the extracts, of which it is composed, and the lowness of its price, would certainly challenge the patronage of all, who think it of moment that models of pure taste be placed within the reach of youth in seminaries and schools. But it is not the mere literary merits of a compilation at which we rejoice. We see, in the volume before us, the first fruits of a young institution, established by the highest ecclesiastical authority, silently but steadily expanding, from small and obscure beginnings, and promising to present, ere long, in its extended usefulness, a lively image of the numberless monastic schools which, in ancient times, covered the entire land. We see in it the early effects of a spirit which the cravings of the young mind of Ireland for instruction untainted and solid, have of late excited. In a word, we see in it the first of a series of works, in which our children may find the principles of science and the beauties of literature, purified from the false doctrines and poisonous maxims, wherewith they have hitherto been mixed; the first stirrings of a movement that will eventually sweep away the mass of impiety and

impurity that now defiles our literature,\* from every Catholic college and seminary and school and hovel in the empire.

The ardent thirst for knowledge, among even the rudest and poorest of the Irish peasantry, and the peculiar respect, amounting in some cases to veneration, with which learned men are looked up to by them, form at this day, as they did a thousand years ago, some of the most striking features in the national character. Among the penal laws, after those which directly proscribed the Catholic priesthood and worship, no other, not all the rest together, weighed half so gallingly upon the hearts of the people, as those prohibiting education, or permitting it only at the price of apostacy. The power which robs religion of her outward forms cannot altogether destroy her internal and substantial worship; the law which excludes from civil dignity may humble, without desolating, the branded race: but when the sources of knowledge are cut off, there is that taken away, which religion does not supply, and without which the comforts of the domestic circle are soon mixed with inquietude, and its amusements with grossness. The people of Ireland however defied the penalties, or evaded the restrictions of the savage code which aimed at subjugating their persons by first brutalizing their minds. Their young Levites sought, in foreign climes, for the learning denied them at home. But the stream of literature, though narrowed and forced into subterraneous channels, was never wholly dried up, and, at the breaking up of the weight of oppression, its waters again burst forth to light. Then were seen the tolerated chapel and the tolerated school house, side by side, in caverns of the same hill. We are not very old, and yet we have ourselves witnessed such a scene. Well do we remember, when, not a quarter of a century ago, in our boyish rambles, through some of the wild mountains that encircle the valleys of our native home, our ears were charmed, amid the stilly bleakness of the surrounding country, with the murmur of a hundred voices issuing from some dwarf cavern, by the way side, that seemed hardly capable of containing half the number. Well do we remember the astonishment, with which our eyes contemplated the half-clad but healthy inmates. Surely, we thought, the love of learning must be the ruling passion in the hearts of the parents of these poor children: a teacher is paid and supported, books are bought,—and all this by miserable creatures, who

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\* See the Articles on the "Prejudices of Early Education," and "Prejudices of our Popular Literature," in vol. v. and viii of the *Dublin Review*.



can hardly procure what is absolutely necessary of bad clothing and worse food. The man who says that the people of Ireland, and especially the poor people, are not in love with education, deserves to be called an ignorant blunderer or a malignant knave.

But the general diffusion of knowledge among the great mass of the people is dreaded by many, as pregnant with danger to the interests of society and religion. Whilst men live in community, say they, there must always be some to govern and others to obey, some to instruct and others to learn; some who live exempt from the toils of manual labour, and others doomed to work for their daily bread. All are not born to be philosophers or readers of philosophy, any more than all born to be legislators. A nation of learned men could no more exist for a day, than a nation of fiddlers. The ground must be tilled, the harvest gathered in, and food supplied, very different from that which science affords to the mind, or music to the ear. Again, it is said, the pride of learning, where it exists, is the most stubborn of passions, especially among the half-learned. They who hardly understand elementary truths, would, by a greater earnestness of dogmatism, affect an acquaintance with abstruse difficulties; and, thus, the wisdom and the faith of antiquity would soon fall before an irruption of sciolists and pedants. We know some very worthy men, who are haunted by apprehensions like these. If we do not admit, we are certainly unwilling to sneer at opinions held conscientiously; but we have neither respect nor toleration for the howls of grasping, selfish, domineering bigotry; and sure we are, that most of those who declaim against the general spread of knowledge, mistake narrowness of mind for delicacy of conscience, and speak from factious obstinacy rather than sober conviction. There is no more danger that general education will subvert or injure the order of society, than that an abundance of cheap bread will beget a general gluttony. There will be gluttons, whether bread be cheap or dear; and some will be turbulent and censorious, whether they receive education or not. They who apprehend danger to religion seem not to know, what every well-instructed Christian ought to know, that religion derives not her efficacy, nor loses her sway over the human mind, from the influence, however great, of mere human institutions or opinions or forms of society. To her doctrines error only is opposed, to her precepts immorality. She embraces alike within her ample fold, the ignorant and the instructed, the civilized, and the uncivilized.

In early times her strength lay among the peasants, the beggars, the slaves, the half-barbarians; and some of the lowest and most despised of men, stand by the side of elevated rank and transcendent genius, in the ranks of the holiest saints and most learned doctors. As learning cannot produce, so neither can it destroy faith. That knowledge sometimes begets insubordination, and injures the simplicity of belief, is an evil to be anticipated, and prevented not by condemning education, but by guarding the purity of its sources, and directing and watching over its course.

But whether general education be a good or an evil, it is now vain to enquire; for the people are determined on possessing it. The progress even of the lower classes towards mental improvement is general and active. We may praise their zeal, or pity their folly; but it is beyond our power to check the one or cure the other. Since, therefore, the people must be educated, it is of the utmost importance, that the books which they read, and the teachers whom they hear, be such as give security, that together with knowledge, there be not introduced into the susceptible, unsuspecting young mind, either unsound principles or immoral habits. To dwell upon the vast influence which early friendships, early examples, early studies, early precepts, have upon the dispositions, would be to descant upon truths which every one understands and admits. Who is there who knows not that the elements which form the character of maturer years, are brought together, in our schoolboy days, through a thousand different channels. The air then breathed, the places then frequented, the maxims then listened to; every glance of the eye, every motion of the tongue,—all contribute to strengthen, or to repress the natural tendencies of the heart, to form a future blessing or a future curse to society. The parental home is indeed the sanctuary of young virtue. The school-room and the academy will confer benefits of a peculiar kind; but hard will the task be, for any labour or vigilance, to make an adequate substitute for the tender watchfulness of a mother's piety, and the homely lessons of a father's wisdom.

To those of lively and affectionate faith no object of diviner contemplation can be presented, than the wonderful providence which ever protects and consoles the afflicted faithful, even at the moment when the storm is loudest, and the darkness thickest. The incessant attacks of heresy upon the early church were broken against the strong array of Fathers, who manned her battlements from age to age: the cry of the be-

nighted nations for the bread of faith, called up a rapid succession of apostles; the yearning of thousands after a perfection, unattainable amid the distractions of business and the scandals of the world, was soon satisfied in the unnumbered abodes of seclusion, which the affluence or the persevering industry of pious zeal everywhere brought into existence. Each new want, which the ever-shifting relations of society created in the external policy of religion, was supplied by the comprehensive genius and vigorous activity of master minds, raised up, it would seem, for the special purpose. Athanasius and Arius, Jerome and Vigilantius, Augustin and the Donatists, Dominic and the Albigenses, Ignatius and the ten thousand sects of the Reformation, are names that tell, on one hand of the combination of power and wealth and talents and numbers which threatened the annihilation of all faith; and on the other, of the utter nothingness into which these terrific preparations melted away before the spirit of truth, operating through instruments often the weakest and meanest in the eyes of men. Before the invention of printing, general knowledge was necessarily confined to the few, whose wealth and leisure afforded them the means of purchasing and perusing costly manuscripts. The fierce wars which sprang out of the heresies of the sixteenth, and the revolutions of the seventeenth centuries, retarded the improvement which the popular mind would have otherwise derived from the cheapness and general circulation of books; and ages of barbarous persecution extended nearly to the present times the cloud of ignorance which hung over our own unhappy country. Since the great impediments have been removed, a universal desire for education has been created, or rather revived among us; and our holy Church, ever fruitful in resources wherewith to supply the spiritual wants of her children, has established a new order of teachers, admirably adapted to the humble wants and humble wishes of a poor, a pious and a generous people. The name of the little work which we have placed at the head of this paper, has already led our readers to understand that we allude to the BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

The introduction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools into Ireland, dates its origin from an act of enterprising but local zeal, on the part of a private individual. In the year 1803, Mr. Edmond Rice, moved by the miserable condition of the poor uneducated children of Waterford, and amply provided, in the resources of an extensive personal property, with the means of healing the evil to a wide extent, conceived

the noble idea of establishing schools, in that city, for gratuitous and religious education. The prudent reserve of ecclesiastical authority, in awarding its sanction to new schemes and establishments, often operates as a trial to sincere zeal or as a check upon intemperate enthusiasm; and, accordingly, Mr. Rice was doomed to experience some delay and opposition, in the execution of his design. After much deliberation, however, and being fully satisfied that the advancement of religion and morality was the great end in view, the learned bishop, Dr. Hussey, not only signified his entire approval of the proposed plan, but moreover lent his warm co-operation, and at his death bequeathed a large sum to the institution of Mr. Rice. This gentlemen now bent all the energies of his mind towards the accomplishment of his darling object. A dwelling house with school-rooms was erected; masters well qualified, both in literary attainments and edifying and prudent conduct, were provided; and a foundation made for the support of six, formed into a kind of religious community. Dr. Hussey was succeeded in the see of Waterford by Dr. Power. To this pious prelate the young establishment of Mr. Rice became an object of peculiar solicitude: his paternal attention was daily rewarded by the testimony which experience of its good fruits gave to the new system of instruction; and after some time, he succeeded in obtaining, for the society, the Apostolic benediction, together with a promise of future encouragement from the Holy See.

Meantime the society advanced, slowly indeed, but with increasing hopes and brightening prospects. In 1819, the number of houses through the South of Ireland, formed on the plan of the original establishment, amounted to seven. Only the solemn approbation of the Pope, was now required to give them solidity and extension; and, in the same year, an humble memorial to this effect was presented to his holiness, from an assembly composed of all the members. The petition contemplated the erection of a new distinct religious order: but it is a fixed principle at Rome to oppose the multiplication of orders in the Church, except after protracted and minute investigation, and upon the most urgent grounds; wherefore the application was promptly and decisively rejected.

A religious Institute, under the denomination of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, had already existed for upwards of a century in France. Dr. de la Salle, the founder thereof, a secular priest, of great learning and piety, had, as

early as the year 1684, resigned his ecclesiastical dignities, distributed a large portion of his patrimony in charities, and, with twelve pious associates, devoted himself entirely to the gratuitous instruction of poor children. The persecutions which the enemy of all good never fails to excite against those whom God raises up for the extension of his kingdom in the souls of men, opposed and invigorated the zeal of the holy man; but he lived to see the advancement and near accomplishment of his magnificent design, in the spread of his congregation through France, and in the warm congratulations of the Cardinal Noailles, and of the pious but unfortunate James of England. Soon after his death, in the year 1725, Benedict XIII erected the society into a religious order. A house was immediately established in Rome; and, through the blessing of the apostolic sanction, the humble devotion of the members, and the encouragement of the clergy and of the civil authorities, the Institution spread, with amazing rapidity and success, through several parts of the Continent. Its efficiency for the purposes of wholesome and solid instruction received an additional testimony and a temporary suspension from the sweeping fury of the National Assembly in 1789. The enactment then passed against the making of vows in France prepared the way for the total suppression of the order, which took place in the following year. When the hurricane had blown over, and the elements of social order began to coalesce, under the milder despotism of the first consul, and after the concordat between him and Pius VII, the schools were reopened, and, notwithstanding the many years of desolating war that followed, so quickly was the chasm in public moral education filled up, that, in 1829, there belonged to the Brothers of the Christian Schools no less than two hundred and ten establishments,—namely, one hundred and ninety-two in France, two in the Isle of Bourbon, one in Cayenne, five in Italy, five in Corsica, one in Savoy, and four in Belgium. The members, at that time, amounted to more than fifteen hundred, and, in Paris alone, there were sixty houses.

The authority of the Sovereign Pontiff brings to the mind of every Catholic an assurance, which needs not support or confirmation from any other quarter. But we cannot withhold from our readers the pleasing information that the active patronage of some of the brightest ornaments of the French Church was extended to the Brothers of the Christian Schools; the patronage of men, who, like Bourdaloue, Massillon,

Bossuet, Fénelon, well knew that the most precious portion of Christ's inheritance, delivered to their charge, lay among the humble poor; and that erudition however deep, and talents however splendid, are, in priest or bishop, but "lights that lead astray," if not directed as well to enlighten, to improve, to console the ignorant and lowly born, as to confound the metaphysical sceptic, or to captivate those who dwell in high places.

After the victory of Waterloo had terminated the protracted hostilities between England and France, and opened, on the Continent, an unmolested passage to strangers, the efficiency of the Christian schools became, through the medium of travellers distinguished for piety and learning, better known and appreciated in this country. The happy thought occurred of soliciting his Holiness for an extension of the brief of Benedict XIII to Mr. Rice's society; the plan was submitted to the consideration of the members; and, after much deliberation, the entire body, consisting of twenty-eight, with the exception of three, gratefully embraced the proposal. In 1819, Dr. Troy and the present venerable Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, forwarded the application to Rome. The claims of the petition itself, supported by the strong and united approbation of two such prelates, could not fail to win the consent of a pontiff, who, like Pius VII, had the spiritual interests of all Churches, but especially of the long-suffering and ever-faithful Church of Ireland, so much at heart; and, accordingly, on the fifth day of September, in the following year, the brief was expedited, confirming the society, under the title of "Religious Brothers." Since then, nearly twenty years have elapsed; the first half, in the general the all-absorbing struggle of an enslaved nation for its legitimate rights, and much of the other in various short lived, but strong political excitements. But notwithstanding these and other powerful obstacles to the diffusion of the society, the number of its schools in the dioceses of Dublin, Cashel, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Killaloe and Kilfenora, has increased to thirty-five; the number of children educated to about six thousand, and the number of teachers, of which thirteen are in the Dublin schools, to more than eighty. We have heard, lately, that the patriotic Archbishop of Tuam has either already introduced, or means soon to introduce, some of the brothers into his archdiocese. We know not that in any other diocese, besides those just mentioned, they have as yet obtained a footing. It may be remarked here, that the "Religious



Brothers of Ireland" form a society perfectly distinct from that of the "Brothers of the Christian Schools" on the Continent,—the end, however, of both being the same, and the rules and constitutions by which they are governed differing very little from each other.

We have been anxious to form the most impartial view of the nature of this Institute; and, for this purpose, we have spared no pains in gathering, from the most authentic sources within our reach, every useful information. We have examined the small volume of Constitutions, together with a variety of other documents, published and unpublished, bearing upon our point of inquiry; we have had recourse to bigoted as well as unbiassed witnesses, in the parliamentary reports; and, not satisfied with these, we have ourselves, on several occasions, patiently examined some of the most frequented of the schools, and saw, with our own eyes, the working out of the system in all its details. It is, therefore, with no small degree of confidence, that we lay before our readers the results of our investigation,—selecting from our materials, such statements, and presenting such views, as we think may put the society in its true light before the public eye, and furnish the best evidence we can yet have, wherefrom to judge of the probable advantages which a more general adoption of the system throughout the country would produce.

The end of the institute is stated, in the first paragraph of the first chapter of the Rules and Constitutions, to be, "That all the members labour, in the first place, for their own perfection; and, in the second, for that of their neighbour, by a serious application to the instruction of male children, especially the poor, in the principles of Christian religion and piety." The obligation of gratuitous instruction, religious and literary, is precisely stated in the papal brief, and repeatedly enforced in the Constitutions, as that, for the fulfilment of which the order of the Christian Brothers exists.

"The brothers should recollect that the instruction of poor children is the great object of their institution, and, for which, through the mercy of God, the institute has been particularly raised up. They should always teach them gratis: nor can they receive from them or their parents anything by way of retribution for their education, but shall content themselves with the glorious recompense promised to all, 'who instruct many unto justice.' This gratuitous instruction of the poor is one of their vows."—*Rules*, c. i. § 3.

"The spirit of this institute is an ardent zeal for the instruction of children, for rearing them up in the fear and love of God, &c."—*Ibid.* c. ii. § 12.

"The Brothers shall teach the children, in the way of science, such things as are befitting them . . . . . But, above all things, the Brothers are to recollect that the instruction of the children in piety and religion, is the great and main end of their institute. . . . . They shall cherish a tender affection for all the scholars, particularly the poorest, &c."—*Ibid.* c. 6, § 1, 2, 5.

"These pious laymen have proposed to themselves the following end, viz. the gratuitous instruction of poor children, in the rudiments of the Christian faith, and whatever else may be adapted to their state and condition."—*Brief of Pius VII.*

"These rules or constitutions are as follow, viz. 1st. that these religious Brothers . . . . shall make it their principal care to teach children, particularly the poor, the things necessary for a Christian life; and that the main end and spirit of the institute must be an anxious solicitude to educate youth according to the maxims of the Christian law . . . . . 5. The Brothers shall teach the children gratis, never accepting of anything as a reward or retribution either from them or their parents."—*Ibid.*

The brothers are bound by the three religious vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, to which a fourth is added, of firm perseverance in the institute, and a fifth, peculiar to themselves, of the gratuitous instruction of the poor. They live together in communities consisting of as many members as the general wants of the society may allow, or the necessities of the district in which they are situated may demand; and subject to certain rules of conduct admirably suited to preserve among them the piety and the detachment from secular engagements so necessary for securing the confidence and respect of the people among whom they live, and to keep alive the spirit of devoted zeal which the effective discharge of the laborious and irksome task of elementary instruction so largely requires. Each house is placed under the immediate control of a brother-director, appointed for a limited number of years, to whom the management of the funds and the general superintendence of the brothers themselves, and of the scholars are intrusted. The superior-general is elected by the secret suffrages of the directors of the several houses. His office, which, according to the first constitution, lasted but for ten years, is, by a more recent enactment, to continue for life; and he is assisted in the government of the order by two others, chosen in the same manner as he is himself, and dwelling always in the same house with him. Thus is there

a compact body of men united together by common laws, under a common head, and animated by a common spirit, for the attainment of a simple end,—and that end one of the best to which the loftiest desires can be sacrificed, or the brightest genius directed. The steady resolve of every member is first tested, in the course of preparatory training, and afterwards confirmed, by the deliberate and solemn promise which he makes, upon his admission, of persevering in the order: and the paths of ambition, which superior wisdom or superior talents might open to some, in the ways of ecclesiastical preferment, are effectually closed, by an explicit enactment of the Pope, forbidding the brothers to aspire to the priesthood or any orders whatever. One of the most abundant sources of neglect, or of something worse, in the schools of the poor, is that the teachers are for the most part persons who take up the office of instructor, as a last resource from the pangs of absolute poverty or of the drudgery, to them equally intolerable, of active labour; or they are those who take it up as a means of temporary employment and support, until an opportunity is presented of embarking in some more lucrative or respectable trade. Men, with such views, have no love for their profession: they go through its duties as through a hated task, the prospect of whose speedy termination is all that cheers them on; their minds are sordid and contracted, and they do not feel the importance of the trust committed to them, or their ambition stretches beyond the present narrow sphere and they despise the occupation which serves only as a step whereby to climb to a higher place. Hence it is that even of the poor children, who spend a sufficient time at school, so few are much improved, and so many are hardly improved at all. Hence so much fine intellect, which, if properly cultivated, might become a source of comfort and of fortune, is to its possessor and to society, a fruitless, if not a dangerous gift. But the Brothers of the Christian Schools become teachers, not from necessity, but from choice. Their energies are kept always active by the only stimulant which is unwasted by frequent application, uninfluenced by change of time or place, unsubdued by hardship, unwearied by fatigue, unbribed by gain—by the stimulant of deep, disinterested religious feeling. As disengagement from pursuits of avarice and from the narrowing ties of domestic attachment gives to the charity of the priest a free and ample range, so are the offices of an humbler sphere, and more earthly nature, benefited by a similar freedom in those upon whom they devolve.

Of the mode of living pursued by the brothers during the time not devoted to professional duties, it is only necessary to state, briefly, that their hour of rising is five o'clock each morning, throughout the year; after which, about three quarters of an hour are devoted to exercises of devotion. The schools are opened at nine, and closed at three. Dinner commences at half-past three; after dinner, the time is spent until nine, partly in recreation, partly in short spiritual exercises, and partly in reading literary or religious books. On Wednesday, the brothers, after dinner, walk out in the country, until half-past seven; and on Saturday, which is always vacant, they walk out in the country, in like manner, at some convenient time, between breakfast and dinner. When the inclemency of the weather prevents the usual walk on Wednesday, the next favourable evening is selected.

No one is admitted into the institute before the sixteenth or seventeenth year of his age, and no one can make his simple perpetual vows, until he has completed his one-and-twentieth year. The young candidate, besides unexceptionable testimonials of a virtuous life, must also possess considerable knowledge of an elementary kind, and exhibit proofs of a capacity that, with due cultivation, will make him afterwards a useful member. After his admission, he is placed under the direction of the Master of novices, and, for the space of one year, engaged in a course of uninterrupted study. During all this first period of probation, he receives frequent lectures on the art of teaching, the different modes to be adopted, according to the age or temper or capacity of the pupil, and the faults to be avoided. Among the novices, from one to two hours is, under the inspection of an experienced brother, devoted, each day, to mutual examination and instruction, on the several branches of science and literature usually taught in the schools. The year of noviciate completed, the candidate is sent to one of the houses, where his application becomes still more protracted and laborious,—not less than nine hours being daily consumed between oral instruction and private study, until, in the tardy judgment of his superiors, he is deemed in every way sufficiently qualified to enter on the office of public teaching. It frequently happens that the young brothers pass from six to ten years in these preparatory exercises, before they become members of the institute; and even after that, a certain time is, as we have seen, devoted to useful reading, for four or five days of every week. All, of course, are not subjected to such long and trying ordeal, because for all it is not necessary.

Some are, in point of scientific knowledge, qualified for any office in the society, on the first day of their entrance into it; and for such it is evident that only so much time is necessary for training, as will give them a fair opportunity of trying their qualifications for a state of so much restraint and labour, of becoming imbued with its spirit of religious self-devotedness, and of acquiring a familiarity with the routine of domestic observances and the peculiar methods of conveying instruction. Some possess talents, which enable them to outstrip the slower progress of the less-gifted brothers, and to pass in shorter time over the measured space: the necessities of some of the schools may demand a reinforcement of teachers, which can be supplied only from the ranks of the less perfectly trained. But, however these and similar causes may operate in shortening the course of preparation for some, it is a fixed principle in the society to advance those only to the office of teachers who, though not in all things so eminently qualified, as a longer course of preparation would make them, are yet sufficiently fitted to discharge their duties, with benefit to others, and with credit to themselves. The circle of studies comprises arithmetic, geography, English grammar, mathematics. We understand that some of the brothers possess a respectable knowledge of the classics. We have heard a clergyman, who is eminently entitled to judge of such matters, speaking, in terms of extraordinary praise, of the mathematical acquirements of one of them—one however, we believe, not honoured with any distinguished place, nor supposed to possess any remarkable degree of cleverness over the rest. The society has lately sustained a loss not soon to be repaired, in the early and lamented death of Mr. Griffin. The chaste and brilliant imagination, the pure feeling and the simplicity of style which distinguish the few relics of his genius this gentleman has left behind him, would reflect honour upon whatever body he might be associated with. The edifying life he led, from his early years, joined with his high intellectual endowments, pointed him out as one destined to become the instrument of much good to men. But hardly had he "laid down his laurel crown" at the foot of the cross, when God called him away to the possession of another and a better.

This system of education must, after all, like every other designed for practical purposes, derive its strongest sanction, in the minds of those not much influenced by mere authority or merely speculative arguments, from the development and application of its principles in practice. Theories the most

dazzling, hypotheses the most ingenious, maxims the most perfect, have fallen to pieces at the first touch of an experiment made to bring them down, from their airy dwelling in the dreamer's mind, into contact with the routine of human affairs. A scheme of popular instruction cannot be judged of, as a painting or a mathematical demonstration, by the gratification it affords to the taste, or by the approval which its perfect but untried organization may extort from the judgment. A plan that would crowd Utopia with sages, might empty the school-rooms of Europe; a plan that, in Italy, would be the hand-maid of science and virtue, might, in Ireland, work only discord and contented ignorance. There are undoubtedly certain rules, everywhere true, and everywhere applicable; but there are others which must be modified in a thousand different ways, according to diversities of country, of character, of prejudice, of situation. That the system of instruction adopted by the Christian Brothers has, in the details of its operation, accomplished its intended object, and that the effects produced by their schools, in the districts wherein they are situated, have been of the most gratifying kind, we have the testimony of disinterested, if not hostile, witnesses to shew.

We have ourselves witnessed the improvement, in propriety of conduct and in learning, made by several of the scholars. The strict decorum, the exact observance of discipline, the respectful demeanour of the boys; the surprising facility with which the several classes marshal themselves into order, at a given signal; the absence of all small freaks of mischief, which, in the common country schools, divide the day between frolic and drowsy application; the general eagerness and concentration of mind upon their present business, manifested even by the youngest—exhibit, on one hand, a decided proof of unceasing vigilance, of cordial zeal, of consummate skill, on the part of the masters; and, on the other, a lively picture of the habits of order and diligence to which the young volatile mind may, by an easy but well adapted system, be reduced. The extreme ignorance of some scholars, the extreme aversion of still more to constant application, are among the harassing difficulties which every teacher has to meet. But, in the Christian Schools, these are increased to a very great degree, by the number varying in each school, from one to three hundred: and these taken from a class of society, in which wholesome restraint is not often one of the "household words." The success of the brothers in master-



ing these difficulties deserves, undoubtedly, peculiar applause. The schools in Peacock-lane Cork, and in Mill-street Dublin, are the special objects, as well as the justification of our praise; of the other establishments in Waterford, Thurles, &c., we cannot speak from personal observation. But, above all things, it would be the greatest injustice not to notice with particular emphasis the fruits of early piety and strict observance of religious duties, which these establishments have produced in so many of the pupils. The number of young boys, both in Cork and Dublin, who have made their first communion and who frequent the sacraments at stated times, is very great. We are not afraid to say, even in these times of bigoted intolerance and still more bigoted indifferencism, that we look upon this as the most decisive proof of the real and enduring benefits conferred by the Christian Schools. The acquisition of mere knowledge is by no means the only or the most important end of the education of the poorer classes; nor is knowledge itself, to them at least, a good, unless in so far as it helps to discipline the mind for higher thoughts, to form the heart for the reception of purer feelings, than those which a perpetual contact with the grosser scenes of human existence is apt to generate. We speak not now of the necessity of uniting, in every case, religious with literary education, or of the obligation—real or imaginary,—of withholding the latter, where it cannot be had combined with the former. We speak not of what ought to be done in cases of difficulty, where our best exertions will be but inadequate and imperfect: but we speak of the case where we can effect our best desires, and effect them in the best manner. We need not be told of the influence of useful knowledge, of a cultivated mind, upon the moral and religious habits. We admit, because we believe the truth of this observation,—but only to some extent and generally. Education will of itself make a good scholar, but it only contributes to make a good man; in the latter work religion must have the first and largest share. As a pure atmosphere promotes the health of the body, but food supports and preserves it from decay; so do the observances of religion nourish the life of the soul. By education we understand; by these we reduce to practice: by education we gain a more comprehensive view of our many duties; by these we are strengthened to perform them well.

As, however, some of our readers may not deem the testimony even of a reviewer altogether above suspicion, we think it but fair to the institute of whose history and constitution

we present this rapid sketch, to lay before our readers a few extracts, with many of which some of them are no doubt already acquainted. To those who have seen them, as well as to the many who have not, it may be interesting to possess them in a form, at once more accessible and permanent, than any in which they have hitherto appeared.

Dr. Mc Arthur, a Scotch gentleman and a Presbyterian, after having stated, in his evidence before the Lords' committee, that the schools for children of the humbler classes, in and about Dublin, are in general inferior to the schools in other parts of the kingdom, makes an honourable exception in favour of the Mill-street schools. Speaking of the Dublin schools, he says—

"I do not think we have one decidedly good school, except the one in Mill-street."—*Lords' Report on National Education*, p. 301.

And, in reply to another question—

"I consider Mill-street as the best (school) we have."—*Ibid.*

Mr. Mills, a Protestant, was examined before the same committee. At the time of his examination, and for many years previous, he was one of the Inspectors of the Kildare-street Society. In his reply to some questions, he speaks thus of the Mill-street Schools,—

"I heard a class read, and was very much pleased with the reading. I was very much pleased also with the order and discipline and cleanliness of the scholars. They read a lesson to me in presence of one of the monks.....and I thought the answering of the boys extremely intelligent."—*Ibid.* p. 620.

Mr. J. Doyle, a Quaker says—

"There are a few valuable schools, &c.....and among the rest, I may mention the Monks' school, in Mill-street, a very well conducted school."—*Ibid.* p. 901.

In a written statement which Mr. Doyle furnished to the committee, he says of the Mill-street schools, that they are—

"Conducted in two very airy rooms by three monks.....A good deal of general knowledge imparted, in these schools, in an agreeable manner, by the teachers, in whom we saw more openness than in some other places."—*Ibid.* p. 888.

But the most unqualified testimony was that of a Protestant Rector, the Rev. George Dwyer. In the course of his examination, he states as follows—

"I would say the most perfect schools I have ever seen in my life, were the schools in Mill-street, in Dublin, and the schools in Cork. The most extraordinary progress I ever saw made by children; the

most admirable adaptation of the information to be communicated to the peculiar bent and genius and disposition of the child ; a sifting and searching of what the future destination of the child was, and an application of instruction to that destination ; a most curious eliciting and drawing forth and development of the powers of the children."—*Ibid.* p. 1245.

Of the merits of the Peacock-lane schools in Cork, (referred to in the last extract), the following account of a public examination, held in March 1838, will afford our readers abundant means of judging.

"The examinations held at the Peacock-lane schools, on Thursday the 22nd inst. . . . . furnished to the numerous and respectable visitors who attended, an intellectual treat as gratifying to their feelings, as it was creditable to the talents of the pupils. In addition to the usual subjects of education, viz. arithmetic, grammar, geography, mensuration, geometry, use of the globes, &c., the course of examination on this day embraced architectural drawing, including linear perspective and the distinctive characters of Grecian and Gothic architecture, hydrostatics, hydraulics, and the philosophy of heat, together with some interesting moral essays, written *extempore* at the desire of the visitors, who proposed the subjects. Among the specimens of architectural drawing, we noticed a plan of the monastery, the schools, the Magdalen asylum, the savings-bank and the court house. These were executed with real taste and elegance, and attracted not only general notice and applause, but a very flattering testimony of their merits from a respectable artist. . . . . In addition to the command of language they exhibited, the moral essays, considered even as exercises of thought for such an age, furnished a most gratifying proof of the intellectual and moral capabilities of the pupils. . . . This establishment numbers at the present moment no less than eleven hundred pupils."—*Cork Southern Reporter for March 24th, 1838.*

Although our remarks upon the Christian Schools are made with reference to Ireland only, we think it right to adduce the following testimonies in their favour,—the last especially, as it comes from one placed, beyond all doubt, the very first in the first rank of Catholic writers in our language, by his deep, varied, accurate learning ; by his fascinating and manly eloquence, and by the *true* Catholic spirit manifested through all his writings, in their meek and calm tone,—far removed, alike, from the dangerous latitudinarianism of loose and superficial scholars, and from the petty malignity of sordid and crippled minds, by whose advocacy the dignity of religious truth is sometimes degraded and its purity defiled. The first is an account (extracted from the Preston Chronicle) of a public examination of the scholars of the Christian Schools, held in Preston in 1830.

"The annual public examination.... took place on Thursday week, (December 16th) when the pupils exhibited a degree of proficiency highly satisfactory to the friends of the Institution.

"The examination was, as on former occasions, partly conducted by the boys themselves, alternately questioning and endeavouring, with surprising zeal and abilities, to puzzle and confound each other. It being understood that premiums had been provided for the best boys, the utmost anxiety prevailed among those to be examined, while each was resolved to be, if possible, of the number rewarded. Such was the expertness of the pupils, on the subjects of examination, and their astonishing perseverance in these contests, that the Rev. Mr. Scott and the other gentlemen who took an active part in the proceedings, were obliged in more than one instance, to divide the prize by lot, none of the contending parties being able to puzzle or embarrass the others.

"It was truly gratifying to witness the children's thorough knowledge of the Christian doctrine, their intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures.....and the very perfect manner in which they went through their examination, in accounts, in mental calculation, English grammar, geography, use of the globes, and a portion of the mathematics. After the examination in geography, a boy of the name of Higginson, who was observed in the course of the day to distinguish himself in several of the classes, ascended the platform and addressed his mixed audience at considerable length, and with much effect, upon the advantages of a good education. He was listened to throughout with the greatest attention, and concluded amidst much applause and continued clapping of hands.

"The most perfect order prevailed in the room during the day; the children looked exceedingly well, the attendance of ladies and gentlemen was both numerous and respectable; and after one of the most interesting examinations which we have witnessed for years, all separated at half past two o'clock."—*Preston Chronicle*, Dec. 24, 1830.

The next is an official report of an examination held in London at St. Patrick's school-house, in June 1838.

"The examiners occupied upwards of five hours in the examination of the twelve boys, whose advancement and proficiency in their several studies, added to their religious and moral conduct, entitled them to become competitors for the three premiums annually disposed of by the governors of the charity.

"They have much pleasure in recording their testimony of the excellent system of education which would enable boys of their age and station, to undergo such an examination, and their satisfaction that the children of the poor should have such advantages thrown in their way.

"The boys were examined in writing, spelling, meaning and derivation of words. Their writing was singularly free and easy.

"Reading, parsing and explaining the subject read.

"English grammar.

"Geography,—more particularly of Europe, including the productions of different countries, the character and religion of the inhabitants, and distances of the several cities, &c., from the metropolis of England.

"Catechism.

"Arithmetic.

"In this latter branch particularly, as indeed in all their studies, the boys evinced a knowledge of the theory as well as of the practice of what they had been taught; and the examiners were very much pleased with the manner in which the boys acquitted themselves in examining one another in their various acquirements.

"The result of the whole was, &c. &c.

THOMAS MURPHY, *Chairman.*

"The first prize was a silver medal, having the harp and name of the school on one side, and the boy's name and age on the reverse; the second prize was also a silver medal, but transferable every year; and the third was a "Missal," beautifully bound, with the pupils name on the cover in gold letters.

"On Sunday, the 17th of June, nearly fifty of the boys of these schools were confirmed by the Right Rev. Dr. Griffiths; and on the same morning, about seventy of them received the holy communion."\*

The last extract we shall give is taken from Dr. Wiseman's evidence before the parliamentary committee, in March 1836. Speaking of a school at Rome, transferred from its original conductors to the Christian Brothers, he says:—

"It was put under the superintendence of the Brothers of the Christian doctrine, and the most radical change that can be conceived has taken place from first to last. I was astonished in merely observing the boys walking about, with two or three of these good fathers accompanying them, to see their deportment; the way in which they behaved in the streets was so very becoming and so very respectable compared with what it had been before. I never had observed, neither had any one else, any improper conduct; but there was not that appearance of order and discipline which is visible now; and I understand that the whole interior organization of the house has been brought to a most perfect standard, and the funds have been much better administered since. In short these superiors devote themselves to it from a charitable motive, and they receive nothing but their maintenance for it."

We have a little more to say. In the first place, it appears abundantly evident that these schools can never, at least in the present condition of the country, be so far multiplied and extended as to meet the wants of the entire people. To such extension there are numerous and insurmountable obstacles;

\* "Andrews' Orthodox Journal," August 4th, 1838. (From which the above Report has been copied.)

to some only of them do we wish to allude now. The number of teachers sufficient for this purpose, and at once willing and *qualified* to undertake the serious obligations, and to undergo the perpetual privations, of the religious life, it would be extremely difficult to find. There must be in each house a certain number of brothers, so as to form a community under the government of a resident director; and, as some of the existing establishments, even in wealthy, Catholic and thickly-inhabited localities, are in a struggling condition, the number of communities cannot be so far increased as to suffice for all or most, or even for many, especially of the country districts, and where the Catholic population is all poor, or where the Protestant decidedly preponderates. To see the roots of the institute deeply struck in *all* the cities and large towns, is the most we can at present hope for, and probably more than sober calculation would justify us in expecting. Perhaps in some future season, when the political sky is more serene than it now is, or promises to become for many years, and when affluence and general comfort will have given a reviving impulse to palsied zeal, and abundant resources to pious generosity,—perhaps, in such a season, if it ever come, we may rejoice to see the branches shooting forth on every side and scattering the fruits of wholesome literature whithersoever they extend. Be this as it may, in no other place can these schools be made the instruments of wider and more lasting good, than in populous and flourishing towns; for there are ignorance and destitution accumulated, unrelieved and little known; there are faith and virtue tried by open assaults and wily seductions, numerous, incessant, hard to be resisted; there, if any where, the harvest is rich, and the labourers are few. The spread of this system will serve not as a complete substitute, but as a help, a corrective and a model for other schools. An establishment of the Christian Brothers will, wherever it exists, become the dispenser of sound knowledge to many who would otherwise never receive any education; it will excite a praiseworthy rivalry, by exhibiting a pattern of disciplinary and literary training to the dull stationary schools in all the neighbourhood; and these, in their turn, so far from being deserted, will become more crowded, by becoming more useful.

The establishments of the Christian Brothers are nowhere possessed of funds much more than adequate to present wants. We do not mention this as matter of complaint. Far are we from wishing to see the energies of the young institute encum-



bered by enormous or unnecessary wealth; far are we from wishing to see the cavils of the irreligious scoffer justified, in the indolence, the pride, the luxury of life, which the mammon of iniquity, when boarded up in religious houses, not for public good, but for private indulgence, so naturally produces. Equally far are we, on the other hand, from joining in the rash declamations of those, who from some abuses—for what good has not been abused?—sweepingly conclude, that superfluous riches possessed by religious *bodies* constituted according to the spirit and laws of the Catholic Church, are always injurious to religion itself. Enough indeed of abuses do we see around us, to have our hearts sickened and our judgments perverted at the sight of so much wealth, originally destined and long administered for the best and holiest purposes, now turned into different channels whence no good flows for the people or the people's religion. But "from the beginning it was not so." In other times, churches were built, colleges and schools were endowed, the poor were fed and clothed, their children were educated, from revenues no longer devoted to any one of these uses. Now the Catholics of these countries are plundered, persecuted, beggared, compelled to support a Church to which they belong not, and to which they are indebted only for the recollection of many wrongs inflicted upon their properties, upon their liberties, upon their persons, upon their fair fame;—ever ready indeed to bestow the little they have to give, for rebuilding and adorning the ruined temples of their faith, but yet unable to clothe religion with external majesty befitting its dignity, or worthy the unbounded generosity of their own hearts. We cannot however conceal the regret we felt at hearing that, though the other Christian schools through Ireland are sufficiently endowed, those in Dublin, depending altogether upon the benefactions of private individuals, have by no means adequate resources. To supply their wants, it was resolved, at a general meeting of the members, held in August 1838, that a pay school should be opened in Hanover-street and Mill-street, for children of the more respectable classes; thus enabling the brothers to educate a larger number of poorer scholars. The plan was submitted to Dr. Murray, and received not only his sanction, but his warm recommendation. We cannot forbear remarking here, even at the risk of offending the meek and retiring zeal of this truly venerable prelate,—venerable alike for his age, his virtues and his rank,—that, as the Christian Brothers are indebted chiefly to his exertions for their establishment as a religious order in this country, so

has he uniformly manifested the greatest solicitude in protecting and promoting their interests ;—displaying in this, however, only the same spirit which has ever marked his long and illustrious career, in the silent but effective furtherance of every project by which religion is defended, supported and advanced. The pay-schools, besides the immediate end for which they were established, are found also particularly useful in providing education for the children who attend them,—a class who, it might be supposed, needed such new opportunities less, but who are found to be in reality far more destitute than the children of the poor. Nevertheless, we would wish to see other means adopted for supplying the wants of the Dublin schools. *Non omne bonum optimum* : the Christian Brothers are established for the education of poor children, and, though the rich may require their services more, an exclusive attention to the poor would seem to be more in conformity with the primary end of the Institute. We throw out this merely as a doubt or suggestion, leaving it altogether to the consideration of those who are better qualified and authorized to decide on such matters.\*

Some reflections yet occur to us that might be added ; but we have said enough for the object of this paper, which is to direct attention to the Christian schools. Of their merits, of the great good which they are capable of effecting, we have ourselves no doubt. Let us have a sufficient number of them in different parts of the kingdom, and with these and the many other schools, conducted perhaps on different plans, but all on the same principle of the moral and intellectual improvement of the young children, soon would we see realised our brightest dreams of the glory that shone forth from the Irish Church a thousand years ago, when the whole land was consecrated ground,—an island of saints ; when our beloved country stood, amid the darkness that hung over the surrounding nations, like a temple in the desert, to which travellers from every clime flocked, and within whose sanctuary was found the light of knowledge and religion ; when our sainted fathers crossed the seas and the mountains, and penetrated into distant lands, into Scotland, and England, and France, and Spain, and Germany, and Italy, and established schools, and monasteries, and churches, and colleges there, and stamped the features of Irish genius and Irish virtue upon the character of

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\* Since writing the above, we are informed that pay schools are absolutely necessary in Dublin, to enable the Brothers to carry on the schools for the poor.

the people among whom they dwelt. Our imagination loves to dwell upon these bright scenes, not as upon barren recollections of things that are passed away, and cannot return, but as upon a garden over which a hurricane of desolation has passed, blighting its fruits and flowers, but leaving the first richness of soil for another spring to revive in all its primitive freshness and fertility. The generation of to-day has all the promise of the generations of old. Let the same means be put into their hands: let them have the same education, the same protection, the same encouragement; and, before the children that now lisp on the mother's knee, shall have sunk into old age, we shall have another chapter in the history of our sages, another page in the calendar of our saints.

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ART. IV.—1. *Lelie et Jacques*, by Georges Sand.

2. *Notre Dame de Paris*, by Victor Hugo.

3. *Le Père Godial*, by Balzac.

4. *Les Memoires du Diable*, by Fred. Soulié.

5. *Zizine*, by Paul de Kock.

WE cannot conceal the disgust we have felt while preparing the materials for this paper. We have been obliged to read, and to read with attention, not only the small number of French novels which we have placed at the head of this paper, but several others, all chosen from those that have of late years obtained the greatest celebrity; and more than once frightened at so much depravity, and disgusted by such trivial absurdities, we have been about to give up our self-imposed task. We thought, before beginning it, that we had nerve sufficient to go through anything. We had looked Maturin full in the face; we had gone fearlessly through the whole Satanic school; we had set at defiance the ravings of German romance, and in a fit of desperation, even trespassed upon the unhallowed ground of German philosophy; and yet, in the course of our wanderings, amidst the nonsense and horrors flitting before us, we had only met with what now appears to us a very ordinary degree of folly and corruption. Vice in its most frightful, naked, and undisguised form, did not in these works receive the name of virtue. The things most sacred amongst men,—the sanctity of the nuptial bed, the right of

property, the ties of family affection, were not in them systematically attacked as being evil in themselves, and the diabolical invention of some great enemy of human happiness. In this respect, then, the last limits of literary guilt were not attained to,—it was possible to go still further. But we defy Lucifer himself, if he could take up a pen, to outdo the French romancers of the present day. All certainly do not deserve an equally strong condemnation, and we hasten, from the beginning, to except a small number of Christians, in their lives, or at least in their writings, who employ their powers of fancy to amuse and not to pervert. Unhappily these are not the most popular; the French public scarcely knows them; like the worn-out gluttons of India, it has no appetite but for the highly seasoned immoralities of a Balzac or a Victor Hugo. Nevertheless, so great is the influence exercised by this portion of French literature in Europe, and it has so many readers in all countries, that we should think we had failed in our duty had we given way to our first impulse. We will therefore surmount our strong repugnance, in order to forewarn the public against the moral cholera, which our Gallic neighbours are spreading far and wide, aided, as they are, by the mercantile avidity of the Belgian booksellers. Scarcely has a novel obnoxious to every feeling of common decency, made its appearance at Paris, than the Brussels publishers reprint it; and as they can sell for sixpence the volume that in France would cost six shillings, they have a monopoly of exportation in this fiendish traffic. They it is, who supply Russia and Spain, Peru and the Brazils; they propagate the moral gangrene engendered in France; and in the sordid hope of a paltry profit, they become the most active and dangerous allies in the modern crusade against all that is good, and all that is holy. Even England has not escaped this commerce, which, on the contrary, has become latterly more extensive; and if a purer sense of national dignity forbids translations, yet those are not wanting who need not such assistance; and we venture to affirm that in the leading ranks of our socialists, the majority are indebted for their present principles to the works we allude to. The fire kindled on the other side of the channel has reached us, nay, it has made progress enough to justify the motives which have at length determined us to bestow a short time upon the critical examination of French romances.

Before the discovery of printing, the high price of manuscripts diminished the number of purchasers, and of course,

in an equal proportion, that of readers: this circumstance was prejudicial to light literature, especially to romances, which, as they seldom bear a second reading, can only multiply under favour of great cheapness. Accordingly this department of literature was almost unknown to the ancients, and nearly as much so to our forefathers of the middle ages; for the popular songs, the national legends, and the traditions of the lives of the saints, which in those days formed the delight of the castle as well as the cottage, were for the most part transmitted in those oral recitations, which were the real romances of the period. But with the knowledge of printing began a new era, and while the knowledge of the alphabet (hitherto confined almost exclusively to the learned), now increased rapidly, a change took place in the situation of authors, which has not perhaps been sufficiently considered. The strictest vigilance cannot prevent a manuscript from being copied by who ever pleases, without leave asked of any one; it is evident therefore that with such means of reproducing books, there can exist no copyright. If Homer died a beggar,—if Virgil and Horace stood in need of a Mæcenas to prevent their suffering the same fate;—it was doubtless because these great men could receive no pecuniary advantage from their labours. Up to the 15th century, the Christian writers lived in the same dependance, unless their private fortune placed them above the reach of want; and they were obliged, for their livelihood, to dispute the good graces of some prince or some great nobleman, with the fool, who was then the necessary appendage of aristocratic splendour. It is true that in the Church, the universities, and the courts of law, there was a market for those who excelled in theology, in civil and canon law, and in some branches of science. But for literature, in the proper sense of the word, there was no other opening, than the courts of kings, the castles of the nobles, or the palaces of the bishops,—the demand being so limited, that authors were at the mercy of their readers; and thus by a cruel necessity, those who were reduced to live by their talents, became the rivals of idiots wearing the cap and bells: and like them were obliged to bend to the caprices of their master, to become the instruments of his pleasures and the slaves of his amusement. The ruin of the copyists was the enfranchisement of writers,—for the printer, when he had bought the privilege of being the only publisher of a literary production, could make that privilege available in its fullest extent; for those who pirated the book, working like himself

on a large scale, were easily detected and punished; and being personally interested in obtaining a monopoly, he availed himself of the undoubted rights of the authors to their own new works, first to obtain a recognition of these rights from the legislature, and then to purchase them. But during two centuries, the number of readers, although it steadily increased, was not sufficient to make bookmaking a profession, or at least an independant one.

In 1471, the two great German printers established at Rome, Swanheim and Leinarting, would have been ruined had not the Pope come to their assistance: and their petition sufficiently shews how small was then the demand for books, even in the great capital of Christendom, for they ascribe their distress to their having twelve thousand volumes on hand, "a fact that will hardly be credited," say they, "as his holiness is probably not aware that Italy can produce the necessary supply of paper." The librarians could not then pay a high price even for the *chef-d'œuvres* of an Ariosto or a Tasso, and consequently these great men, like their predecessors, were still obliged to have recourse to patronage: but the press obtained for them a more speedy and a wider renown; and by, in some degree, dividing this fame with the great men to whom they dedicated their immortal productions, they found themselves at length raised above the level of the fool, whose favour they might perhaps formerly have envied. These dedicatory epistles, which were paid for by presents, and sometimes by pensions, mark an important progress in the history of letters, and the names of Johnson and Lord Chesterfield have no doubt already occurred to our readers, as indicating the conclusion of a period during which, thanks to the diffusion of letters for many generations, authors had gradually conquered for themselves an independence, which as yet they had never enjoyed. Pope had already realized a considerable fortune by his books, and the copyright, which until now, had been of merely nominal value except to the publisher, because at last a source of at least comfort to the author. But then, instead of pleasing as formerly the one man by whom he was paid, he was now obliged to please the multitude from whom he received his support, and consequently to consult its taste, humour its prejudices, and flatter its passions. A new servitude succeeded the old one; and it is because this servitude now exists in its most decided form, that a French writer has laid it down as an incontestable axiom, that in every country literature expresses the true



state of contemporary society. If he is not mistaken, the novels whose titles head this article, afford a sad specimen of the present state of morality in France; and little hope indeed should we entertain of her ever emerging from such a gulph of iniquity, did we not know how large a part of the population are guiltless of contributing to the popularity obtained by those infamous publications. The chivalrous spirit of the sixteenth century, required chivalrous romances, and they were written. Then came pastoral novels, brought into fashion by the *Astrea* of Dufé, which in their turn were succeeded by love stories, heavy and turgid, of which the personages were borrowed from ancient history; such as the *Clelia* of Mlle. de Scudery, and the *Cassandra* of Calprenede. Boccaccio certainly had long before published his licentious *Decameron*, and the Protestant sister of Francis I, her still more licentious tales. But the current of popular favour kept the majority of authors in a better track, and in France as in England, the virtuous mother of a family might read with little danger such works as were daily thrown into circulation by the press. The delightful works of Mme. de la Fayette, by their truer delineation of the female heart; and early in the eighteenth century, Le Sage, with his admirable *Gil Blas*, were illustrations of the practical manner in which the romance could adapt itself to all the details of human life, and of its power to instruct and please more effectually than comedy. Already had Bunyan invented the religious, and Rabelais the satirical novel; Voltaire, who came after them, created the philosophical romance, and by his means a species of literature which seemed least of all adapted for the vehicle of party or sectarian spirit, became a sort of pulpit from whence the "sage" of Fernay dealt out upon gaping crowds the arrows of his wit. Depraving the heart of his readers, that he might more easily prevail over their understandings, he was the first who systematically infused into the most amusing fictions his own bitter hostility against Christianity. Light and elegant under his pen, the philosophical novel rose into eloquence under that of Rousseau; and the two great leaders of modern infidelity were quickly followed by a motley herd of imitators. The higher classes of society smiled complacently upon their future destroyers, assisting them by all their influence, until every seat in the French academies, until every public paper then in existence, fell into their possession. Thus they obtained a monopoly, not only of all the encouragements given by government to literature, but also, and which

was perhaps more important, that of all the habitual organs of criticism; and having thus become the only dispensers of renown, they granted it to those alone, who, belonging to their party, thought and wrote like them.

Under the reign of Louis XVI, their rule was so well established, that men of great talent, Gilbert for instance, and the Abbé Gérard, exerted themselves in vain in defence of the Church and of public morals. The first, in spite of the beauty of his verses, died in the hospital; and the second, the author of the *Count de Calmont*, would not perhaps have found a publisher, if his personal fortune had not procured him one. From this period the provincial readers formed their opinions upon those of Paris, as these in their turn adopted those of the academies and great noblemen; so that an author had no chance of selling his book, except by stamping it with the seal of obscenity and impiety. Such a state of things left all readers at the mercy of the philosophers of the capital, and consequently, those who wished to remain Christians, imbibed an invincible hatred for all new books, especially romances; they ceased gradually to form a part of the purchasers of these books;—the clergy, going perhaps too far in their fears, visited all novels without exception, with one sweeping condemnation; and they were thus left entirely in the possession of beings already corrupted, or quite prepared to become so. The general reprobation of the clergy contributed most powerfully to the increasing depravity of this branch of literature. More happy, in England the novel writer continued to find patrons in the general mass of the population. Fielding, Richardson, Goldsmith, and even Smollett, were not reduced to the shameful necessity of sullyng their pages, either to gratify their own ambition, or to pander to the avarice of a bookseller. Depravity never became a lucrative speculation in this country; and the wide circle of novel readers, increasing with every accession of wealth and population, formed a public well prepared to crown with its merited reward the chaste and splendid genius of a Walter Scott.

The French Revolution extended the formidable power already possessed by the philosophic party: atheism reigned without opposition; and the following fact, as curious as it is little known, will prove that unbelief is as strongly impressed as is the Catholic Church, with the necessity of having recourse to an infallible authority. The impious Condorcet, member of the Convention, and president of the council for public instruction, proposed, in 1793, to give a legal infallibility to the

decisions of the Academy of Sciences, or in other words, that whosoever should not consider these decisions satisfactory, should be liable to legal punishment. This strange notion would probably have been carried into effect, if Robespierre had not already been meditating the ruin of the faction to which its origination belonged; shortly afterwards the fugitive Condorcet destroyed himself; and the Academy, of which he had been the secretary, did not long survive him. On the 27th July, 1795, it was suppressed, and immediately replaced by the present Institute, which the government divided into five distinct Academies, giving to one of them,—perhaps in derision,—the title of *Academy of the Moral Sciences*. The same spirit presided so entirely in the selection then made, that the author of *Paul and Virginia*, Bernardin de St. Pierre, was astonished that he had been chosen. We name this writer because we cannot resist an inclination to give an anecdote, taken from his Life by Aimé Martin. The Academy of Moral Sciences had promised a prize for the best essay upon the following question: "What Institutions are most calculated to form the morals of a people?" Bernardin was entrusted with the duty of examining these essays, and, in his statement, he ventured to express his astonishment, that none of the candidates had made mention of a God.

"The analysis of the essays," says the Biographer, "was heard quietly enough, but at the first lines of the solemn declaration of his religious principles,\* a cry of fury arose from all parts of the hall; some turned him into ridicule, asking him where he had seen God, and what was his appearance; others were indignant at his credulity; the most calm addressed him with contempt. From jokes they came to outrages,—they insulted his old age,—they treated him as a weak and superstitious man. They threatened to drive him out of an assembly, of which he had rendered himself unworthy; they carried their madness to such lengths as to challenge him to a duel, that they might prove to him, sword in hand, that there was no God. In vain did he seek to be heard amidst the tumult, they refused to listen to him, and the ideologist Cabanis (he is the only one we shall name), exclaimed in a transport of rage, 'I swear that there is no God, and I demand that his name be never pronounced within these walls.'"

The romances of Pigault le Brun were the delight of the coarse impiety of that period; while those of Mme. de Cottin, more decent without being less immoral, formed a course of preparation for them: by corrupting the minds of those readers who could not yet have borne the sight of vice in all its naked-

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\* He was simply a Deist.

ness. The novels of Mme. de Stael justified philosophically all the extravagances of love, and invited the lovers who were deceived in their guilty hopes, to self-destruction. Scarcely can a single publication be found during the republican system, which did not harmonize with the moral tone of its rulers, in politics and science. Even M. de Chateaubriand did not escape this baneful influence in his *Genius of Christianity* there are two novels, *Atala* and *Réné*,—*Atala* poisons himself,—and *Réné* first inspires, and then experiences an incestuous passion, which is feebly resisted, and described in the most glowing colours. Napoleon had scarcely attained to power before he felt the necessity of putting a stop to this torrent of published scandals; but he valued purity of morals only in so far as it was useful to the Government; he preferred it as the consequence of a police regulation, rather than as the result of a principle superior to all human power; and he thought he had done enough when he had imposed silence on the blasphemies of his learned men, and the foolish ribaldry of other writers. The restoration gave to all parties the liberty of which they had been deprived under the Imperial Government; and they profited by it, to give free scope to their hatred of the Church and of royalty. For the Bourbons altered nothing in the state of the great scientific institutions of the country; and it must be owned that had they ever so much wished to do it, so little attention had been paid by the Catholic party in France to science or literature, that they would have had much trouble in finding candidates amongst them who could fill the vacant chairs, with any degree of credit. The monopoly of novel writing therefore remained in the hands of the impious, and they still retain it, in spite of some incursions which the Catholics have made into this portion of the domains of literature; and consequently the French public continues still divided into two distinct classes, the one abstaining altogether, on conscientious grounds, from this species of reading, while the other delights in it; and is therefore the only one that can incur our censure. If we may judge by appearances, it is the least numerous; for as the English novels do not, on account of their purer morality, inspire such terror in the minds of the more religious class of readers, it is perfectly well known, that, on this account, the French translations of Walter Scott, for instance, have a circulation at least ten times greater than that of the best French novels. Now so much of their literary value is lost to the French reader, that it is impossible to ascribe this remarkable

fact to any other cause than to their having a double market, the largest of which is closed against the native producer. Nevertheless, the French novel-writers did not, until the revolution of July, overstep the limits within which Voltaire had restrained himself. To render vice amiable, or to justify it by every circumstance of extenuation; to compel the reader to feel an interest in the fate of an adulterous love; to represent religion as an imposture, its ministers as odious hypocrites, and all the believing laity as fools; this they attempted with as much malignity, though with less wit, than their great prototype; but this was as far as the boldest of them durst venture: nay, many of them, comprehending the general want felt for a return to purer morals, or shamed into a sense of common justice by the recent sufferings of the clergy, shrank from going so far; and these, (amongst whom we will mention Mme. de Genlis and Charles Nodier), were not the least dangerous. It is obvious from their writings, that the idea of God has either not entered their minds at all, or that they have represented Him to themselves as a being after their own fashion, and entirely different from Him whom Christians worship. Thus, in the *Last Days of a Condemned*, a work published by Victor Hugo, with a view to obtain the abolition of the punishment of death, the unfortunate culprit describes in heart-piercing terms, minute by minute, the anguish of the last hours of his existence. He does not lay aside his pen till the moment when he leaves the prison to go to the guillotine; yet has he no thought for the supreme tribunal before which he is about to appear. The animal that the butcher drives to the slaughter-house, could not be more insensible to the fears and hopes of a future life; and if he knew where he was going, would probably experience every sorrow, without a single exception, which is felt by the hero whom our author has chosen. The tendency of such books is evident,—they contribute greatly to efface from the human heart every kind of religious faith, and their deleterious influence is all the more baneful from the virtuous acts ascribed to the hero. Insensibly the reader is led to believe that there is no connexion between morals and religion. With a little attention, however, it is easy to make out the ideas of these writers upon morality: they are ardent philanthropists, and carry to excess that sort of silly sensibility which procured so many readers for Auguste Lafontaine. In general, they profess a passionate admiration of filial piety, but conjugal fidelity is almost always turned into ridicule, or represented

as requiring superhuman sacrifices. The most decent of the authors who have written since the restoration, invariably betray themselves upon this point. It was to a public thus prepared, that the St. Simonians proposed their theories respecting property, the rights of woman, and marriage. This strange sect scarcely survived two years, but its doctrines took root in the world of letters, and may be more or less retraced, with the religious tinge which the St. Simonians gave them, in all the novels published since 1830.

It is under this detestable influence that so many French writers have declared themselves openly the champions of what we Christians must call vice: and that they preach without disguise, and as the highest perfection of human reason, a system of morals, which would justify the greatest enormities and acts of the most hideous wickedness: nay more, by which they become duties and are imperiously commanded. That our readers may not accuse us of exaggeration, we will give the plan of the two most celebrated romances of the most celebrated novel writer in France, Georges Sand. Georges Sand, we grieve to say it, is a woman: a member of a rich and noble family; she received a religious education, and married, while still young, a man whose rank equalled her own, M. Du Devant. Two children sprang from this union, in which the young wife found neither happiness nor good example; for the legal proceedings which took place when she demanded and obtained a separation, have acquainted the public with the secrets of this deplorable couple. Neglected in spite of her wit and beauty, and basely treated by a husband who appears to have been himself the first to blame, she forsook him; and finding herself soon in want of money, because M. Du Devant retained her marriage portion, she wrote, jointly with her seducer, two novels, of which one only, entitled *Rose et Blanche*, has any merit. It was then that she adopted the name of Georges Sand, which she has borne ever since in her publications, and by which she is also known in the world, when she appears in it as she frequently does, in a masculine dress. We will not speak of her private life; we will only say that with the dress of our sex, she has embraced many of its habits: it is said, amongst other things, that no one can boast of having better cigars than she has, and few can affirm that they have smoked so many. She was soon separated from her first admirer: but having given proof of talent as a writer, she made use of it, at once to subsist by, and to revenge herself for the slights with which society, implacable



in its justice, visits heavily the guilty wife, whatever may have been the faults of her husband. Her situation was that of the Jew of Venice,—as proud of her beauty and her genius, as he of his wealth; as determined not to repent as he was not to become Christian;—like him, an outcast, and self-condemned to continue one;—she conceived an implacable hatred for the laws, the social institutions, and the religious opinions, which gave to women by whom they had not been outraged, however ugly, however stupid, however miserable, the right “to spit upon her Jewish gaberline.” But Shylock stood opposed to the whole state of Venice: and it was only by a cunning and an artful abuse of his power, that he could hope to glut his rage against the Christians. More fortunate in this respect, Mme. Du Devant found allies in the most active party in French society, who were already imbued with doctrines entirely in harmony with her conduct, and from whom she borrowed ideas which might assist her in a bold and open attack upon all that she longed to overthrow. Sure of being encouraged and assisted, she published two novels, *Indiana* and *Valentine*, which gave her at once an eminence amongst the irreligious writers of France. The graces of an enchanting style, the charm of a most brilliant imagination, an interesting story, good taste in the details, a broad conception of the plan, equal richness and variety in the descriptions, and last, not least, that chastity of language which conceals the deformity, and shews only the attraction of the most licentious subjects; nothing was wanting in these two formidable attacks upon marriage, to excite the curiosity of the public, and deserve the admiration of the literary critic. In both these works, the heroine is the victim of Christian social institutions; she is sacrificed without compassion to the propinities of a perverse world, which laughs at her sufferings, or does not comprehend them; and the conclusion is, that happiness must be unattainable here below, except through such a system of morality as will give the married woman all the liberty of conduct, and all the latitude, that the husband invariably assumes to himself;—at least, if we may believe the author, for it appears that whether waking or asleep, she never met with or dreamt of such a thing, as a faithful or a hen-pecked husband. This wilful ignorance of the true state of society, carries Mme. Du Devant far from all truth in her delineations; and the reflecting reader, even if he were not disgusted by the immorality of the subject, must be struck by the mass of improbabilities, so evidently brought together

for no other purpose than to make out a predetermined case. Her works, similar in that respect to the delightful paintings of the early Flemish school, (which while they are so admirable in colouring and expression, are so incorrect in the design), teem with the grossest inconsistencies, for she seems to know as little of the human heart, as Van Eyck and his immediate successors did of the human frame. The same fault, without the same talents, is to be found in all the French novelists. They know by heart the frightful system they wish to establish upon the ruins of Catholicism, but they know not the human heart. It is in consequence of this, that even in the best works of Georges Sand, there are so many characters and sentiments, which, in spite of the splendour of her talent, lose their effect upon a second reading; and appear even more than is really the case, to be false, exaggerated, and sometimes quite ridiculous.

After having published several other novels, which were equally successful, but of which *André* was the most remarkable, she determined to try the effect upon the public of what many have supposed to be the confession of her own inmost feelings; and *Lelia*, the most detestable of all her books, excepting only *Jacques*, burst upon the French public in all its ghastly radiance. Young, beautiful, high-born, and wealthy, Lelia from her earliest youth has placed her ideal of happiness in an absolute and entire personal independence. She has shaken off the yoke of Catholic belief, and has never consented to accept that of marriage, because the Catholic submits his reason to the divinely inspired wisdom of the Church; and the wife, as society exists at present, is obliged to submit her will to that of her husband. Nevertheless, Lelia has felt the deep necessity of loving and of believing: and she begins by loving all things and believing all things, until by the aid of her powerful intelligence, improved by study, she arrives (says the author), at the conclusion, that nothing of what she had loved was worthy of her love, nothing of what she had believed was worthy of her faith. Her early youth has been lost in seeking perfection in men, and truth in opinions; and she has attained the desolating conviction, that neither are to be met with upon earth. The only thing she knows, is, that every thing here below is a lying illusion; and if she could, upon any point, extricate herself from her scepticism, it would be to affirm that the Creator had cast forth our feeble humanity upon earth, in a moment of bitter jesting, that it might be his plaything; and that he might laugh at the

tears shed, and the torments experienced by his creatures. For Lelia is profoundly miserable: if she feels herself above other mortals, it is like Satan among the damned,—because there are more thorns in her crown, more of anguish and misery in her heart; alone in solitude, alone in a crowd, she carries about with her the hell of her doubts, her despair, and her pride. As learned as Manfred, as haughty as Lara, she feels all their sufferings, and these sufferings constitute her glory and her joy; for by them she differs from her fellow-creatures, and where she differs she believes herself their superior. Yet, more than once, she has bent under this load of self-created wretchedness,—more than once she has looked down with envy upon the amusements, nay, the very revels of her fellow-men; and were happiness, such happiness as she can feel, to be obtained under the garb of the meanest courtesan, unhesitatingly would she snatch at it in all its defilement; but, (how can we omit, and how can we otherwise record the most infamous words ever penned by a female hand), she has tried the experiment and it has failed. Such is the woman who is loved by Stenio, a youth scarcely beyond the age of childhood, and who is thus described to us, by one of the chief personages of the romance:

“ His soft eyelids, drooping every instant to conceal his modest glance, seem to invite the chaste kisses of those winged virgins whom we behold in our dreams. No one has ever seen a more angelic tranquillity of countenance, or a more heavenly blue than that of his eyes; never was the voice of a young girl more soft or more harmonious than his. His gentle and slow demeanour, his white delicate hands, his slight and graceful form, and his complexion varying like the Autumn sky, all announce a poet, a being sent by God to suffer for awhile amongst us before he becomes an angel.”

If to so many charms, we add that Stenio has never allowed himself to entertain the “insolent” idea of marrying Lelia; we shall not be surprised that she is in despair to find herself unable to feel for him a passion *similar* to his own. Divided between this desire of feeling sincere passion, and the consciousness that what she experiences is only friendship, she attracts him when he is discouraged, repulses him when he grows bolder, and in these alternations of a coquetry which she knows to be inexcusable, she gradually unsettles the faith of the young man, who is an Italian Catholic, of marvellous ignorance, and whose religion lies in the imagination, as the impiety of his mistress does in indomitable pride. Stenio is not her only admirer: Magnus, an Irish priest, who saved her

life, has known and loved her; and this guilty passion, strongly but unsuccessfully resisted, has cost the unhappy man the greater part of his reason and all his repose. The charms or the arguments of Lelia, have drawn him into the abyss of scepticism, and when, distracted by remorse, he implores grace to conquer his guilty desires, in spite of himself, he begins his petition by demanding of God whether really He exists. No wonder, then, that Stenio, whose mind was cast in a softer mould, and who is, or rather whom the author supposes to be, still a Christian, should not at all understand the strange being of whom he has made his idol. Having been present with her at high mass, he writes her the following letter, which is no unfair specimen of Mme. Du Devant's style:—

"Upon what were your thoughts employed yesterday? what had you done with yourself, when you were there, mute and frozen in the temple, standing up like the pharisee, and measuring God without fear, deaf to the holy canticles, insensible to the incense, to the scattered flowers, to the sighs of the organ, to all the poetry of the holy place? and yet how beautiful was that church, impregnated with humid perfume, and palpitating with sacred harmonies! how white and massy rose the flames from the silver lamps, amidst the opal clouds of burning gums: while golden censers sent the perfumed smoke in graceful spirals to the vaulted roof. How the golden rays of the Tabernacle arose, airy and brilliant, in the light of the tapers! and when the priest, that tall and noble-looking Irish priest,—with his raven hair, his majestic form, his austere look, and sonorous tones,—slowly descended the steps of the altar, sweeping its carpets with his long mantle of velvet, when he raised his powerful voice, mournful and penetrating as the winds of his native land,—and pronounced, as he raised his glittering remonstrance, that word so awful on his lips, 'Adoremus;' then, Lelia, I felt myself transfixed with holy terror, and falling prostrate upon the pavement, I beat my breast and cast down my eyes." . . . . . "But you: you were standing, you had not bent your knee, nor drooped your eyes! your haughty glances, cold and piercing, scrutinized the priest, the host, the prostrate crowd; and none of these things touched you. Alone, entirely alone amongst us all, you refused your prayers to the Lord: are you then a power superior to him? And yet, Lelia, may God forgive it me; there was a moment when I believed it, and half withdrew my homage from him to offer it to you. Alas! I must acknowledge it, I had never seen you so beautiful. Pale as the marble statues that stand beside the tomb, nothing in you seemed terrestrial, a gloomy brightness gleamed in your eyes, and your broad forehead, from whence you had parted off the dark hair, rose sublime with pride and genius, above the crowd, the priest, above God himself. This profound impiety was terrible; and when you seemed to measure with your eye,

all the space that separates us from Heaven, all present felt themselves shrink into littleness. Had Milton seen you, when he gave such beauty and grandeur to the thunder-stricken brow of his rebellious angel? Must I tell you all my fears? I thought that at the moment when the erect priest,\* elevating over our bowed heads the symbol of the faith, beheld you before him, erect like him, alone with him, above all the others; yes, I thought that then, when his deep and severe gaze met your steady eye, it quailed before it. I thought the priest grew pale, that his trembling hand scarcely sustained the chalice, and that the voice died in his deep chest. Was this the dream of my troubled imagination? Or was it the feeling of indignation which oppressed the minister of the Most High, when he saw you thus resist the decree that had emanated from his lips? or, tormented like me, by a strange hallucination, did he think he beheld in you something supernatural, a power evoked from the bosom of the abyss, or a revelation sent from Heaven?"

We must premise that what the authoress understands by love, is an absolutely disinterested attachment; in all respects, except its object, similar to the love of God, as it was conceived by the French quietists. Such is the sentiment Lelia wishes to inspire, and that she is indignant at not finding, and that she considers the last effort of perfection in every being capable of loving. One man alone finds favour in her eyes, but he has raised himself above the region of human passions; he is only sensible to friendship, and she has granted him all hers. The true name of this phoenix is unknown to us, but under that of Trenmor he excites the violent jealousy of Stenio; to dissipate which, Lelia tells the young man the story of this sage,—who began his career as a desperate gambler, (on this occasion she gives us a splendid eulogium upon gambling and gamblers); then having ruined himself, that he may continue to play, he commits a forgery; and this act—we dare not say crime, so venial does the offence appear in the eyes of the author, compared with the others that society does not punish,—brings him to the galleys; there he remains seven years, and leaves them purified of his past faults, having got rid of his old desires, and full of admiration for the *mythological recitals* of the founders of Christianity; believing in internal communications between the Divinity and such of his creatures as are purified by long suffering, and enjoy true happiness, that is to say a perfect calm. Honourable industry in foreign lands has enriched him, and having paid his debts, he lives, the quiet, benevolent, and *most indulgent*

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\* Magnus was the officiating Priest.

spectator of the frailties of the human race. Even he, however, cannot help blaming Lelia's conduct to Stenio. "I believed," so he writes to his friend, "that you possessed only the graces and the adorable qualities of woman; can it be, that you have also her ferocious ingratitude, and her impudent vanity? If you bring upon this young soul the blight of corrosive passions,—if you extinguish it amidst the ice of despair, how shall it find again the road to Heaven! Do not crush this frail child under the weight of your reason; you tell me that you love Stenio:—woman, it is false. You, faded flower, beaten by the winds; you, bark tossed on every sea, and wrecked on every rock; would *you* dare attempt another voyage? You have lived; let others live in their turn; to beings such as us, what is wanting now! rest, and the grave. Let the child grow and live; let not your frozen breath dim the brightness of his days of sunshine and spring.—Send Stenio away from you, or quit him."

But Lelia will neither banish nor fly from Stenio; she continues to invite and to repulse his love, until at length she drives him to despair. He then determines to poison himself, but just as he is about to commit an act, which all novel characters find so marvellously easy, Trenmor comes to summon him to Lelia, herself at the point of death, for the cholera has seized her. Beside her is a young doctor, who will give her no remedies, because he does not himself believe in their efficacy. While he is explaining to her the uselessness of medicine, a convulsion seizes her, and she falls dying into the arms of Stenio.

"'Come, my fine lad,' says the youthful doctor, 'take courage; if you are in the least alarmed at your situation, you are lost; but you are in no greater risk than I am, if you preserve the same coolness.'

"Lelia raised herself upon her elbow, and looking at him with eyes dimmed by suffering, had still the strength to smile with irony.

"'Poor doctor' said she, 'I would fain see you in my place!'

"Many thanks," thought the doctor to himself.

"'You said you did not believe the efficacy of remedies,—you do not then believe in medicine;' said she to the doctor.

"'Pardon me; the study of anatomy, and the knowledge of the human frame, with its infirmities and alterations, is a positive science.'

"'Aye,' said Lelia, 'which you cultivate as a polite accomplishment. My friends,' she continued, turning her back to the medical man, 'go and find me a priest, for the doctor gives me up I think.'

"Trenmor ran for a priest, while Stenio thought of throwing the physician over the balcony.

"'Leave him alone,' said Lelia, 'he amuses me: give him a book,



and take him to my cabinet opposite a looking-glass, that he may employ himself. When I feel my courage forsake me, I will call him, that he may give me counsels in stoicism, and that I may die, laughing at man and at his science."

"The priest arrived: he was the tall, handsome Irish priest, of the Chapel of St. Laura. His calm and meditative aspect, in which heaven seemed reflected, might have been sufficient to give faith. He approached, severe and slow. Lelia, broken down by anguish, had hidden her face in her convulsed arm, wrapped round with her black hair.

"My sister," said the priest, in a full and fervent voice.

"Lelia let fall her arm, and slowly turned her face towards the man of God.

"Again this woman!" he exclaimed, recoiling in his terror.

"Lelia answered him by a fit of laughter.

"Let us see," she said, drawing him towards her, with a cold and livid hand; "draw near priest, and speak to me of God. You know why you have been sent for; here is a soul about to quit the earth, and which must be sent to Heaven!—Hast thou that power?"

"The priest was silent, and remained terrified.

"Come Magnus," she said, with melancholy irony, and turning towards him her pale face already covered with the shades of death; "fulfill the mission that the Church has entrusted to you; save me, and lose no time, for I am dying."

"Lelia," replied the priest, "I cannot save you; you know it well; your power is superior to mine."

"What means all this?" said Lelia, sitting upright in her bed; "am I already in the land of dreams? do I no longer belong to the human race, which crawls, and clamours and dies? Is not the frightened spectre that I see, a man, a priest? Magnus, have your senses left you? You are there erect, and living, while I expire; yet your ideas are troubled, and your spirit fails you, while mine calmly collects strength to take its flight. Man of little faith, invoke God for your dying sister, and leave to children these superstitious terrors, at which you ought to blush. In truth, who are you all? Here is Trenmore lost in astonishment, here is the young poet, Stenio, who looks down to see if my feet are not cloven; here is a priest who refuses to absolve and to bury me. Am I already dead? or do I dream?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Madam," said Kreyssneifetter, "if I had tried to play the physician with you, you would have laughed at me; I know it well, you are not a common person, you are a philosopher."

"Madam," said Magnus, "have you forgotten our walk in the forest of Grinessel? If I had tried to act the priest with you, would you not have completed the making me an unbeliever?"

"See then," said Lelia, in a bitter tone; "in what consists your strength? the weakness of others is your power; but so soon as you are resisted, you draw back, and you own, smiling, that you have

played a false part amongst men,—charlatans and impostors that you are! Alas, Trenmore, what has become of us? what has become of the age? The learned man denies, the priest doubts; let us see if the poet still exists. Stenio, take your harp, and sing me the verses of Faust, or open the books and repeat to me the sufferings of Aberman, or the transports of St. Preux. Let us see, poet, if you still understand grief; let us see, young man, if still you believe in love?

“‘Alas, Lelia,’ cried Stenio, wringing his white hands; ‘you are a woman, and you do not believe in them,—what has become of us? what has become of the age?’”

Lelia, however, escapes death, to begin again the same course of life which impiety had rendered at once so wretched and so impure. Amidst scenes of the most guilty coquetry, she completes the corruption of the heart of Stenio, who has not been cured by the confessions of Magnus; or the sight of the furious remorse and too evident madness of this wretched priest. These deplorable triumphs do not console her for the misery of existing, and in language worthy of Byron's Lucifer, she addresses to God perhaps the most eloquent blasphemies that ever insulted Him who made us out of nothing, and re-deemed us with his blood. Tired at last of herself and all that surrounds her, she determines to follow, at least in part, the advice of Trenmore, and separate herself for a month from Stenio, who leaves her alone, with a mantle, some dried leaves and some provisions, in a forsaken châlet, near Monteverdur in Switzerland. This is a species of hard labour, to which she has condemned herself, in the hope of being as happy as Trenmore, and of recovering, by this means, the peace and tranquillity she has so long lost. But at the end of a week, she grows tired of an experiment that does not succeed, and quitting her retreat, she re-enters the world with all the advantages fortune and beauty can give her. She is invited to a magnificent festival given by the Prince Bambucci.

“The Prince de Bambucci was a man of taste, which is the most eminent as well as the rarest quality a rich man can possess. The only virtue we require from those sort of people, is that they should know how to spend their money properly; if they have this, we dispense with their having any other merit. But for the most part they are below their vocation, and live vulgarly, without laying aside the pride of their order. Bambucci was the first man in the world for paying the full value of a horse, a woman, or a picture, without bargaining, and without allowing himself to be cheated. He knew the value of things within a scudi. His eye was as practised as that of a thief-taker, or a slave-dealer. His olfactory nerves were so acute,

that he could tell by the mere smell of his wine, not only the latitude and the name of the vineyard, but even the aspect of the hill-side which had produced it. No artifice, no miracle of sentiment or coquetry, could deceive him by six months in the age of an actress,—let him but see her walk across the stage, and he was prepared to make out her baptismal register. Let him but see a horse run at a distance of a hundred paces, and he could point out a splint in its leg, that the finger of the veterinary surgeon had failed to detect. The mere touching the hair of a sporting dog, enabled him to tell exactly how many generations back the breed of the animal had been corrupted; or he could point out, in a painting of the Florentine, or Flemish school, how many of the touches were by the master's hand. In a word, he was a first-rate man, and so fully admitted as such, that he could not entertain any reasonable doubt of it himself."

The democratic, or rather levelling principles, of Georges Sand display themselves here, as in all her works; the festival prepared for the high Italian aristocracy, much resembles in character, those which used to delight Louis XV, the most licentious of French monarchs. The amiable solicitude of the prince has foreseen all that his guests can possibly desire; the liberty of the masquerade allows free entrance to the most degraded creatures; and, amongst them, to the Zinzolina, a famous courtesan, who is no other than Pulcheria, a sister of Lelia's, who has sought her happiness in vice, as Lelia has sought hers in pride. What shall we say of a conversation in which they tell each other their respective histories, since their separation? In what terms can we explain how both of them refuse the palm of virtue to the irreproachable mother of a family, to give it to a courtesan! And it is a woman who writes these abominations,—and the literary critics of France, and the newspapers of that country, with but a small number of exceptions, have dared to mention this infamous book with praise!! Stenio, who did not know that Lelia was to be at the festival, meets her there; and his love revives with increased force. She takes advantage of the resemblance between herself and her sister, in their masks, to bring him into contact with the latter; and the young man, enraged at the mistake she has designedly occasioned, quits her at length, and swears that he will see her no more. But then, forsaking also the pure life he has hitherto led, from the mere feeling that it was eminently poetical, he seeks the society of impious and coarsely libertine young men, and his feeble health soon gives way under the excesses of every kind to which he abandons himself. Even Pulcheria takes pity on him; and when Trenmore is sent by Lelia to seek him, she consents to the separa-

tion. We pass over these disgusting scenes ; we leave unnoticed the princess Claudia, a girl of fifteen, shamefully betrayed by her governess,—that we may come to the winding up. Trenmore and Stenio are obliged in the progress of their journey, to have recourse to the hospitality of a convent of Camaldolese, and here Stenio is compelled, by his increasing feebleness, to remain, while his companion returns to fetch Lelia—certain that the wretched boy, now far gone in a consumption, has but a few days to live. Magnus is one of the inhabitants of the monastery, now tranquillized by prayer, which might have cured him, but for the present conjunction of circumstances. Amidst the graves of the monks he meets with Stenio, now no longer a believer in virtue. Having lost all Christian principles, and adopted, in the midst of his debaucheries, all the philosophical ideas and miserable sophistries of Lelia, Stenio takes pleasure in proving to Magnus, that he has no other merit than that of having fled from a danger which cannot be considered to deserve praise, as, at the first appearance of Lelia, he would fall again. Once more the senses of Magnus give way, and those of Stenio are scarcely in a sounder state, for he resumes his project of suicide, and finally accomplishes it, by drowning himself in a lake near the convent, the evening before Lelia and Trenmore arrive. The former comes alone, and finds the body of her young lover stretched upon the water's edge, soon to be buried without prayers or religious rites, in a hole dug amongst the flowers on the bank. As she stoops to give him a last kiss, she is seen by Magnus, who springs upon her in a transport of madness, and strangles her with his rosary.

The consequences of vice are so frightfully depicted in this novel, that it would be easy for a charitable person to suppose it written with very different intentions from those that the author really entertains. It might be said that she meant to describe the present state of anti-Catholic Society,—devoured by ennui, degraded by coarse sensuality, fatigued by tendencies to spiritualism, and by those aspirations after a new system of morality, which announce, it is supposed, the near approach of a new religion. We must add that in a recent edition, Georges Sand has modified some part of her work, and changed the winding up of the story. Trenmore, the model of perfection, is no longer a liberated galley-slave ; and Lelia instead of being killed by Magnus, becomes a nun, is made an abbess, and in the end falls a victim to the ferocity of some monks, who cannot pardon her the *heretical purity* of her doctrine, nor above all the ardour of her charity. Even the

public, for whom Georges Sand writes, had been scandalized, and she felt the necessity of making some concessions,—but she has left *Jacques* as she first wrote it. Jacques, the beau-ideal of a husband, according to the author's notions, (and whom some uncharitable persons have believed to be held up as a model of imitation to her own), Jacques is a distinguished officer of Napoleon's army, possessing a large fortune; he is thirty-five years old, and has retired from the service,—for the story is laid during the first years of the restoration. His father, on his death-bed, had recommended to his care an illegitimate daughter, who had been left years ago in the foundling hospital at Genoa, by her mother Mme. de Theurson: accordingly he has taken care of this child, whose name is Sylvia, and she has grown up an accomplished philosopher,—a sort of Trenmore in petticoats; he has made her the confidant of all his thoughts; and the public, which knows nothing of their relationship, is somewhat disposed to put an evil construction on their attachment. Jacques cannot forgive Mme. de Theurson her forgetfulness of Sylvia, yet he leaves them both in entire ignorance of the connexion between them. Having fallen in love with a great many women, whom in the end he finds out to be unworthy of him; he ends by conceiving a violent passion for Fernande, the young, charming and legitimate daughter of this same Mme. de Theurson. It is not, however, without trembling, that he gives way to this attachment, for he no longer believes in the durability of any human affection, and the certainty of not being always beloved, makes him beforehand very sad and unhappy. Gifted with the most immoderate vanity, he is convinced of his own perfection, and the imperfection of all the world besides, unless it be Sylvia, whom he might be inclined to believe capable of an eternal attachment, if she could be brought to entertain one. But Sylvia is too well acquainted with human weaknesses; she has profited too well by her own experience, to fall sincerely in love with any one; on the contrary, she has just dismissed her lover Octavius, because she feels sure that he will otherwise of his own accord forsake her. As for Fernande, she is a young girl, charmingly graceful and naive; she loves Jacques with all her heart, sincerely and simply, as a young girl should do, who has nothing to blush for in her early affections, since she is about to marry the object of them. The first pages, which are full of the description of her love, are delightful; yet from the first we see that the marriage is not to be happy, and that Jacques is to be the instrument of his

own misfortune. He never ceases telling Fernande of the disproportion of their ages; he repeats, till one is sick of it, that constancy is not a virtue of which humanity is capable; and he acknowledges, that neither is it a duty which should be required of humanity. At length, after endless arguments against the married state, and having thrown out many hints, that but for the *foolish usages* of society, he should never have had the insolence to propose to her the yoke of an indissoluble union,—on the very evening before their marriage, he writes her the following letter:—

“It is well, however, to foresee every thing; love may die away, friendship may become wearisome and vexatious, intimacy may form the torment of one, or perhaps of both of us. It will be then that your esteem will be necessary to me! To have the courage to make me the sacrifice of your liberty, you must be well assured that I will never take advantage of the sacrifice. Do you feel secure of this? poor child! perhaps you have never even thought of it! Well! that I may forestall the terrors that might arise in you, that I may help you to drive them from you; I am about to take an oath which I beg you to register, and to read over this letter, if at any time the language of the world or the appearance of my conduct, shall make you apprehend tyranny on my part. Society is about to dictate to you the formula of an oath; you are to swear that you will be faithful and submissive to me—that is to say, that you will never love any one but me—and that you will obey me in every thing. One of these vows is an absurdity, the other is base. You could not answer for your heart, were I the greatest, and most perfect of men; you ought not to promise to obey me, because to do so, would be a degradation to us both. Therefore, dear child, pronounce boldly the holy words, without which your mother and the world would not suffer you to belong to me. I also will repeat what the priest and the magistrate shall dictate to me, for only on these conditions shall I be allowed to consecrate my life to you. But to the oath of protection which the law prescribes, and which I will religiously keep, I will add another, that men are not wont to consider necessary to the sanctity of marriage, yet without which you ought not to accept me as a husband. I will swear to respect you, and at your feet I will take this oath in the presence of God, on the day when you have chosen me for your lover. But even from to-day I take it, and you may look on it henceforward as irrevocable. Yes, Fernande, I will respect you, because you are weak, because you are pure and holy, because you have a right to happiness, or at least, to repose and to your liberty. If I am not worthy for ever to fill your soul, I am at least incapable of being its torment, or its jailor. If I cannot inspire you with eternal love, I can at least inspire you with an affection which shall survive all others in your heart, and make it impossible that you should ever have a more secure or a more precious friend than myself. Remember, Fernande, that when you find my



heart too old to be a lover, you may still appeal to my white hairs, and claim from me the tenderness of a father. If you fear the authority of an old man, I will endeavour to grow young again, to retrace my life back to your age, that I may better understand you, and may inspire you with the confidence and familiarity you would feel towards a brother. If I succeed in neither of these characters, if spite of my devotion and my care I find myself a burthen to you, I will then fly from you, I will leave you mistress of your actions, and you shall never hear from my lips a syllable of complaint."

Immediately after their marriage, Jacques takes his wife to his estate in Dauphiny, where at first they are perfectly happy, and the birth of twins, a son and a daughter, comes to fulfil all their wishes. Yet Fernande is at times hurt by the evident antipathy her husband entertains against Mme. de Theurson, whom he refuses to invite to his house; and, not unnaturally, she is jealous when Sylvia arrives to take up her abode with them,—her husband continuing obstinately determined not to calm her uneasiness, as he might so easily have done, by owning, (without naming the mother of Sylvia), that she was his sister. It is true that at last her fears give way before the frank and patient friendship of the beautiful stranger; but already there is estrangement between the husband and wife; and Jacques, convinced that his wife will not always love him, and distressed by the conviction, is at pains to ensure the accomplishment of his own prophecy, by his strange conduct. In the meanwhile Octavius arrives in search of Sylvia, and not daring at first to present himself before Jacques, whom he believes his rival, he secretly addresses himself to Fernande, to entreat her to reconcile him with the woman he still loves, in spite of the treatment he has received. The young wife yields to his entreaties, and after several interviews, which are at first concealed from her husband, she obtains permission to invite Octavius to her house. Sylvia is inflexible; this perfect being has never chosen to be the wife, she will no longer continue to be the lover, she will only be the friend of Octavius; who forthwith consoles himself by falling desperately in love with Fernande; and before long she returns his passion. One of their letters falls into the hands of Jacques. Sylvia also is aware of the whole intrigue: nevertheless, the one remaining faithful to his promise, the other to her philosophy, they do absolutely nothing to prevent the young wife from falling into the snare laid for her,—they leave her entire liberty, offer her no advice, nay, rather increase her temptations, by almost forcibly detaining Octavius near his victim. Fernande has

more good sense, she is not yet guilty; and she asks her husband's permission to go to her mother at Tours. He takes her there, and there leaves her, exposed to the seductions of Octavius, who follows her in spite of her express prohibition; and at the conclusion of a ball, her character is so decidedly compromised, that her mother determines to take her back to her home, where she learns the death of her little daughter, and finds Octavius, who, well aware that Jacques *knows all*, arrives almost at the same time as herself; the husband receives him as a friend, and leaves him with the (now) adulterous Fernande, because, says the *generous Jacques*, "he alone can comfort her for the loss of her child." Mme. de Theurson is indignant at conduct which she cannot understand, and after a violent scene, her son-in-law, to render her more indulgent, informs her of the existence of her own illegitimate daughter Sylvia. She leaves the house, and shortly afterwards Jacques does the same, leaving Octavius with Fernande, after the exchange of the two following letters.

## FROM JACQUES TO OCTAVIUS.

"I wish to spare you the embarrassment of a verbal explanation, which could only be difficult and disagreeable between us. By writing, we shall come sooner and more coolly to an understanding. I have to put to you several questions, and I hope you will not contest my right to interrogate you upon certain subjects, at the least as interesting to me as to you.

"1st. Do you believe I am ignorant of what has taken place between you and a person whom it is not necessary here to name?"

"2nd. When you returned here within these few days, almost at the same time with her, and boldly presented yourself to me, what was your intention?"

"3rdly. Have you a true attachment for this person? would you take charge of her, and would you undertake to devote your life to her, if her husband forsook her?"

"Answer these three questions, and if you have any regard for the tranquillity or the life of that person, do not betray to her the secret of this letter: by doing so, you would render her future salvation and happiness impossible."

## FROM OCTAVIUS TO JACQUES.

"I will answer your questions with the frankness and confidence of a man secure of himself.

"1st. I knew when I quitted Tourraine, that you were aware of what had taken place between her and me.

"2ndly. I came here to offer you my life, in reparation of the outrage and the wrong I had done you. If you are generous towards her, I will bare my breast before you, desiring you to fire, or plunge

your sword into my heart, my hands being empty ; but if you are to revenge yourself upon *her*, I will then dispute my life, and try to kill you.

"3rdly. I have for *her* so deep, so true an attachment, that if you were to forsake her by death or through resentment, I would make a vow to devote my whole life to her, and thus, as far as possible, repair the evil I have done her.

"Farewell, Jacques ; I am unhappy, but I will not tell you what I suffer on your account. If you desire vengeance, it must be your wish to find me erect before you. I should be a coward if I implored your mercy ; I should be impudent if I braved you. I ought to wait for you, and I do wait. Decide quickly."

This reply from Octavius confirms Jacques in the resolution he has taken. He has determined upon suicide, in order to secure the happiness—or what he is pleased to consider the happiness—of *Fernande*. This we are informed of by his first letter to *Sylvia*.

FROM JACQUES TO SYLVIA.

"You weep for me, poor *Sylvia* ! Forget me, as the dead are forgotten. With me all is over. Let the winding sheet fall between us ; and continue to live with the living. I have accomplished my task, I have lived long enough, and I have suffered enough. Now I may sink down, and roll myself in the dust that I have steeped with my tears. When I quitted you I wept, and for three days the tears have not dried in my eyes. I see that I am an undone man ; for never have I felt my heart so broken, so extinguished within me, as now I do ; I feel it die away within my breast. God has withdrawn from me my strength, because in future it would be useless to me. I have nothing left to do but to suffer ; I have no one to love ; henceforward my part is finished amongst men. \* \* \*

I feel anxious about her health, and shall wait with impatience till I hear from you, that my departure, and her emotion when she bid me farewell, have not done her harm. Perhaps I should have stayed a few days longer, until she had gained strength ; but I could not bear it. I am a man, and not a hero ; and feeling my heart throb with the tortures of jealousy, I feared lest I might be hurried into some odious act of egotism and revenge. *Fernande* is not guilty of my sufferings ; she is ignorant of them ; she believes me a stranger to all human passions. Even Octavius may, perhaps, fancy that I bear my misfortunes calmly, and that I obey, without difficulty, the dictates of the duty I have imposed upon myself. Well, be it so, and may they be happy ; their compassion would render me furious, and I cannot yet renounce the cruel satisfaction of knowing, that doubt, and the expectation of my revenge, are, like a sword, suspended over the head of this man. I can bear no more ; you will judge whether my soul feels like a stoic ; alas ! how far from it. It is you, *Sylvia*, who are heroic, and you judge me by yourself ; but for me I am a man like

others ; my passions hurry me away as the wind, and gnaw me as fire. I have not imagined to myself a class of virtue above the reach of nature ; but love has penetrated my heart in all its plenitude, inasmuch that I am compelled to sacrifice every thing to it, even my heart when I have nothing else left to offer. I have studied but one thing in this world, and that is love. After repeated and personal experience of all that can irritate or embitter, I at length comprehended the nobleness of this sentiment, and how difficult it is to preserve ; and how many sacrifices, how many acts of self-devotion must be accomplished, before one is entitled to boast of having known it. Had I not loved Fernande, I should not have conducted myself well ; I know not whether I could have controlled my vexation, and the hatred I feel for the man who has, by his imprudences and his egotistical follies, exposed her to the derision of others. But she loves him, and because I am bound to her by the links of an eternal affection, the life of her lover becomes sacred in my eyes. That I may resist the strong temptation to rid myself of him I depart, and God alone knows how much each day spent at a distance from her, will occasion me of torments and despair. \* \* \* \*

Were Fernande unworthy of my love, I should cease to feel it. One hour of contempt would suffice to cure me ; but she yields to a passion, which a whole year of struggles and resistance have caused to take deep root in her heart, and I am compelled to admire her. No human being can command love ; no one is guilty for feeling, or for ceasing to feel it. What constitutes adultery is not the hour which a woman grants to her lover, but the love which she afterwards affects for her husband. \* \* \* \*

Poor suffering being ! Sensitive plant, that shrinks from the lightest breath of air. How could I have the brutal courage to torment, or the stupid pride to despise thee, because God created thee so highly gifted and so weak ! Oh, I have loved thee ! Simple flower that the wind swayed upon its stem ; for thy pure and delicate beauty I gathered thee, hoping to keep for myself alone thy fragrant perfume, which diffused itself around in solitude and shade ; but the tempest, as it passed, has torn thee from me,—my bosom could not retain thee. Is that a reason why I should hate thee, and trample thee under my feet ? Now I will replace thee softly amongst the dews from whence thou wast taken, and I will bid thee farewell, because my breath can no longer make thee live ; and there is another in thy atmosphere who must now raise and revive thee. Flourish again, then, oh, my fair lily ! I will touch thee no more."

Accident takes him to Tours, and Jacques (who professes a horror of duelling) there kills an officer who has allowed himself, in his presence, some allusions to the notorious misconduct of Fernande. After this deviation from principle on account of an adulterous woman, he takes refuge in Switzerland, where he learns the death of his son. Sylvia writes to him :—

"Take courage, Jacques, and return, and suffer here. You are still wanted; let this idea give you strength. There are around you beings who stand in need of you; and then your life is not concluded. Is love its only object? The friendship which Fernande entertains for you, is stronger than the love she feels for Octavius. All his cares and his devotion, which have really been kept up beyond my hopes, are forgotten by her when you are brought to her mind. And could it be otherwise? Can she venerate any other man as she does you? Return and live amongst us. And am I, then, counted as nothing in your arrangements? Have I not dearly loved you, and what harm have I ever done you? Do you not know that you have been the first—almost the only—affection of my heart? Overcome, then, the horror you feel for Octavius; it will be the work of a day; I too have suffered before I became used to see him in your place. But leave it to him, and assume a better one: be the friend and the father, the consoler and the support of the family. Are you not superior to a vain and coarse jealousy? Resume the heart of thy wife, and leave the rest to this young man. It is possible, that the heart and the senses of Fernande may require a less elevated love than that with which you sought to inspire her. You have resigned yourself to the sacrifice, resign yourself to be the witness of it, and let generosity impose silence upon self-love. Is it a few caresses, more or less, which can keep alive or destroy an affection so holy as yours? This childish jealousy is unworthy your great soul; and the white hairs you carry on your forehead, give you a right to be the father of your wife, without degrading the dignity of your character as husband. You cannot doubt the delicacy with which Fernande will avoid whatever could wound your feelings. Octavius will become more supportable to you; his nature is in some respects noble, and during these three months, so difficult for us all, I have found in him virtues I did not expect."

Jacques obeys her, and is not far from learning to consider very *supportable* the singular situation which Sylvia has represented as so grand, when he discovers a letter from Octavius to Fernande, in which the lover reminds his mistress of the age of her husband, and speaks of the happiness they shall enjoy after his death. This last incident determines Jacques to kill himself. He goes to the mountains of the Tyrol, and from thence writes to Sylvia (who ends by approving his design) the following words:—

"Calm thy grief, beloved sister; it awakens mine, and changes nothing of my resolution. When the life of a man is hurtful to others, burdensome to himself, useless to all, suicide becomes a lawful act, and one that he may commit, if not without the regret of having lost his life, at least without remorse at having terminated it. You believe me far more virtuous and greater than I am; but there is

profound truth in what you say, of the anguish of a soul, conscious of good intentions, become useless, and of self-devotion thrown away, when it is forced to abandon its task unfulfilled. My conscience reproaches me with nothing, and I feel that it may be permitted me to lie down in my grave, and there to rest myself from having lived."

A few days after this he throws himself down a glacier, after having taken all possible precautions that his death may appear the result of accident, lest Fernande should be rendered unhappy by the idea, that he had killed himself to restore her her liberty.

We have, perhaps, dwelt too long upon these two disgusting specimens of the genius of Mme. Du Devant, but they may be considered as prototypes of contemporary French romances, and in this point of view it was necessary that we should make them known with some accuracy to our readers; it is possible, also, that we might have been accused of exaggeration, in saying that our neighbours had attained the last degree of literary guilt, unless we had justified our assertion by showing, that, according to the most celebrated of their novelists, gambling, suicide, adultery, and even prostitution, are acts innocent in themselves, and, under certain circumstances, even meritorious. We cannot refrain from animadverting here upon what, without hesitation, we consider as the worst of literary heresies. Many Germans, and a yet greater number of French writers, captivated by the success, and deceived by the genius of Lord Byron, have invented a theory, in virtue of which they make a complete separation in all works of art, between the artistic execution and the moral tendency; and maintain, that the painter, the sculptor, and the poet, may give undivided attention to the one, without any obligation to trouble themselves about the other. According to them, so long as a picture, or a poem, astonishes, dazzles, and captivates the imagination, whether by a faithful adherence to nature, or by the power of its conception, and the splendour of its details, the author has fulfilled his task; and no one has a right to blame him on account of the means he has made use of, the subject he has treated, or the moral tendency and consequences of his work. "What signify," say they, "the crimes of Conrad, if the stern grandeur of Lara subdues the reason of the reader? What signifies the assassination of Gulnare's first master, if Kaled obtains all our sympathy; and if, above all, the perfection of the style, the beauty of the imagery, and the originality of the ideas, cause us to forget what were once, and still are, the two



fearful beings who are held up to our admiration? The author of *Don Juan*," they continue, "was no preacher; it was not his duty to reform mankind; he was but a poet; and, after all, if there be any truth in the morality which affirms that virtue is beautiful and vice ugly in their own nature, we ought to give him credit for the difficulty he has overcome, when he makes the worse appear the better cause." As it always happens, long before rules were laid down for this new *art of poetry*, whose evident—though not avowed—object is the transfiguration of evil into good, it had been frequently applied, and of this we will give one remarkable example. In the 'mysteries' of the middle ages, the Devil always plays an odious or a ridiculous part; and even Dante and Tasso, who give him a gigantic stature, have only, if we may so express ourselves, looked through a microscope at the Lucifer, who excited at once the laughter and the dread of our forefathers, so completely have they succeeded in representing him as at once hideous and stupid. The reformation was too much indebted to the great tempter, not to take his part against his Catholic aspersers. Luther first began, by showing him off in their celebrated interview as a perfect scholar; Milton transformed him into a complete hero; Goethe lent him all his powers of sarcasm and philosophy; and Byron represented him as a high-bred gentleman; indeed, he now stands so high in the estimation of those who have strayed beyond the pale of Christianity, that most of them, we verily believe, would feel not a little proud of a personal acquaintance with the fallen one. Many of Mme. Du Devant's faults originate, we hope, in this most erroneous view of the nature of art in general. We say erroneous, because if the poet and the novelist have an incontestable right to pourtray the worst passions of the human heart, it is equally certain that they are bound to describe only what is true, and that for them the limit of truth should be that of possibility. Now, if there are vices, and still more if there are weaknesses, which are compatible with certain virtues, and which even lend to them, by their alliance, a kind of charm, arising from an air of reality, which is wanting in any description of earthly perfection; it is also true, that some virtues and qualities of the soul, cannot by possibility exist together with vices and weaknesses of a certain description; and the author who loses sight of this great law of the human heart, creates monsters which may excite the momentary curiosity of contemporaries, but from which posterity will turn with contempt. What, for instance,

can be further from the *true*, than the mysterious sadness and the fainting fit of Lara, whom we know to be as incapable of fear as of remorse, and destitute of any religious belief; or again, how can we believe in the powerful reason and love of Jacques, when we see him kill himself to enable his wife to marry a young man whom he knows to be contemptible, and certain to leave her, in spite of his fine promises, even sooner than he forsook Sylvia. Moreover, and by virtue of the same principle, if the poet and the novelist are not bound to select and comment upon a text of Scripture, it is certainly still less their mission to preach the extreme of immorality, to corrupt hearts, and cause them to love vice and hate virtue; for there is genuine morality in nature itself, without which no society could exist, and which can never be separated from the *beautiful*.

The better to illustrate our meaning, we will quote the admirable character of Iago, compared with whom Goethe's Mephistophiles is but a child in iniquity. Here we have man as he is in the extreme of depravity,—false, artificial, implacable, and hypocritical; yet, with all this, Iago is brave, and full of intelligence, because the detestable feelings which actuate him neither exclude personal courage nor great talents. But Shakspeare is careful not to excite our sympathies for the infamous friend of Othello; he does not represent him, though in the days of chivalry, as animated by chivalrous sentiments; he does not place him under the influence of a passion supposed to be irresistible, which could justify by enslaving him. We hate Iago—we see that Shakspeare also hates him;—and our admiration for the prince of poets is all the more fervent, because he has respected true morality, and that, in his delineation of human wickedness, he has, at least, not outraged the laws of our nature;—at the same time we love Othello, and we pity him, he, the murderer of the gentle Desdemona;—Why? Because the credulous jealousy of the Moor is compatible with the most generous sentiments; because he would have given his life a thousand times to save that of his wife, had he believed her faithful; because he is the victim of the depravity of another, and not of his own; and, finally, because it is not the crime of which he is guilty, but the virtues he possesses which are held up to our respect.

Georges Sand has followed another plan. Her personages unite vices and virtues which have never been found to combine together, and it is for their vices chiefly that she endea-

vours to obtain sympathy. This detestable purpose tends, in the first place, to incapacitate her for describing truth; and, in the next, to draw her into interminable discussions, which having, as far as they are able, corrupted the reader, end by wearying him to death. This same defect is found in all the French writers of the present day; under the name of dramas, novels, and poems, their works are, in fact, theses composed in support of the anti-social principles they have adopted, and consequently their characters speak and act wholly on behalf of the author's favourite theory. Generally speaking, one may apply to them all, the words of a distinguished Belgian writer, when speaking of the dramas of Victor Hugo, one of the most eminent amongst them:—"His personages," observes M. Devaux, "are remarkably like puppets; without life or free will of their own, but acted upon by the showman according to his fancy. You may suppose it Punch that walks, talks, laughs, or puts himself in a passion, but you soon perceive the hand and recognize the voice of Hugo; and as it is always the same hand which puts the wooden heroes into motion, whether friends or foes, and the same voice which expresses their ideas, so in these works you see before you only trumpery puppets, and leave them in pure weariness of the author's eternal monologue." To this just criticism, M. Devaux might have added, that the French writers act in the most impudent opposition to their own theories. "Art for the sake of art" is their cant phrase, by which, as we have seen, they understand, that literary productions should have no moral or religious object whatsoever; whereas, all their writings are directed to the establishment of a new system of ethics, and a complete renovation of all religious opinions, by the substitution of fatalism for the free and responsible will of man, and of pantheism for Christianity. Georges Sand is one of the most active labourers in this work of darkness,—one of the most indefatigable combatants in this crusade against all that is good, and all that is social. But even as a writer her crime has turned against her. Endowed with the most elevated talents, entitled to rank amongst the first prose writers of France, very superior to Mme. de Stael, and perhaps equal to Jean Jacques Rousseau, her writings are, nevertheless, far from having as much literary merit as they would have had if she had chosen another path,—had she believed in true morality,—had she, in short, not persisted in seeking for human nature in the world of her own philosophical chimeras. These causes have deprived her characters of life, animation, and variety;

it is thus that with all her genius, she wants the naiveté and gentle serenity which charms us in Walter Scott, and which are the ordinary and loveliest attendants upon sterling greatness. Devoid of all humour, she scoffs when she attempts to smile, and her laughter is the merriment of a fiend.

If it is true, that the French novelists since 1880 have always had a case to make out, it is equally so that with few exceptions, one party amongst them endeavour to demonstrate that the married state, without the security of unlimited liberty of divorce, is a degradation to the female sex ; and the other, that women are all so detestable, that men in their senses would not think of marrying at all. It is evident, that between them the two great divisions of the human race are treated with equal contempt. No class, no profession, can escape their biting sarcasms, excepting only *the people* ; that is to say, the lowest ranks of society, from which they seldom select their characters, without endowing them with the fine feelings that are, without mercy, refused to all their superiors. They have also a marked predilection for natural children, whom they invariably represent as amiable and handsome. In both cases they have yielded to the democratic instinct of that portion of the public which is their patron, and pays them ; and which will not endure, in its own ranks, any hierarchical preeminence, even that of the lawfully-begotten child over the bastard. Victor Hugo, who has over Georges Sand the advantage of not being systematically depraved, and who is her only rival as a novelist, has yielded to this double necessity. But we will speak of him as a poet, before making mention of his chef-d'œuvre, *Notre Dame de Paris* ; and we do this in order that we may reprobate that kind of slander, not the less atrocious for being directed against the dead ; and which, from its general prevalence on the part of the French press, must, in the end, generate amongst the people the most erroneous ideas as to the plainest facts recorded in history. Will it be believed, that in a tragedy, entitled *Mary Tudor*, he has dared to represent the chaste daughter of Henry VIII as a sort of amorous courtesan, who puts to death an Italian, her lover, because she believes him unfaithful to her ? We could quote innumerable instances of falsehoods not less flagrant ; and certainly, setting aside the peculiar odiousness of thus inscribing calumnies upon the grave, it is not in this manner that a people are enlightened. We a thousand times prefer the most apocryphal legends of the ages of darkness : fictions for fictions, the latter had, at least, a moral object, and pre-disposed the soul to the fulfilment of the social duties.

We shall pass rapidly over the *Nôtre Dame de Paris*, which appeared in 1830, because it is pretty generally known in this country. Esmeralda, a fair gipsy, is full of grace and freshness; we follow her with interest through all her wanderings; and the character of Quasimodo—a child forsaken, and laid upon the pavement of *Nôtre Dame*, deformed, deaf, blind of one eye, and almost foolish, who would have loved nothing but the bells of which he had become the guardian, had he not seen Esmeralda—is most happily designed. But the brutal carelessness of the handsome Phebus is unnatural; and we cannot comprehend how the archdeacon, Claude Frollo, at once the lover and the persecutor of Esmeralda, could, in the fifteenth century, and under the reign of Louis XI, have shown himself, even to the end, so profoundly indifferent to every idea of religion. But, indeed, with the exception of king Louis himself, whose superstition is cleverly derided, every person in the novel is equally indifferent upon this subject. Quasimodo himself, brought up in a church, seems not to know that there is a God; and the author has thereby deprived himself of an element for heightening the dramatic effect of his work. Instead of representing a struggle between crime and remorse, in an age when the very excess of credulity would not have suffered a guilty conscience to slumber in repose, he has subjected all his characters to the influence of an imperious fatalism. This is his faith—his thesis: and that his readers may not mistake him, he has headed one of his chapters ANATKH. Setting aside these two serious faults, (but which, unhappily, pervade the whole work), *Nôtre Dame de Paris* is unquestionably not an ordinary performance. The author has entered the lists with Walter Scott in his description of the low mobs of Paris, and where he brings Louis XI upon the scene; and we are bound to say, that he has come off with honour in his bold attempt. His style, too, (a singular merit in a French romance writer), is not too poetical; admirably strong and flexible, it is sometimes picturesque in the highest degree. We have not room to quote the fine chapter entitled “*Paris vu à vol d’oiseau*,” but we are sure the reader will derive pleasure from the following extract, from what ought to have been the concluding chapter. While Esmeralda, betrayed by Claude Frollo, is executed as guilty of a murder which he had himself committed in a fit of jealousy, Quasimodo, standing with the archdeacon upon one of the towers of *Nôtre Dame*, suddenly throws him over the balustrade,

upon which he leant to behold the execution of the poor Bohemian.

"The priest exclaimed, 'Damnation !' and fell.

"The gutter below him stopped him in his fall, and, with despairing hands, he fastened himself to it ; but at the very moment when he opened his mouth to utter a second cry, he saw the formidable and vengeful head of Quasimodo pass along the edge of the balustrade immediately above him, and he was silent. The abyss was below him, a fall of more than two hundred feet, to alight upon the pavement. In this dreadful situation, no word—no groan escaped the archdeacon, only he clutched at the gutter with incredible exertion to regain a footing ; but his hands had no hold upon the granite, his feet slipped against the blackened wall without supporting him. Persons who have stood upon the towers of Notre Dame, are aware that the stone wall bulges outwards at the top, immediately below the balustrade ; it was upon the angle thus formed that the miserable archdeacon exhausted his strength ; he did not even cling to a perpendicular wall, but to one that receded from under him. To have dragged him from the gulf, Quasimodo need but have reached out his hand to him, but he did not so much as look towards him. He looked at the Grève, he looked at the gibbet, he looked at the gipsy girl. The deaf man was leaning on his elbows upon the balustrade, on the very spot where a moment before the archdeacon had stood ; and there, not for an instant withdrawing his look from the only object earth now contained for him, he was motionless and dumb, like a man thunderstruck ; and a long stream of tears flowed silently from that eye, which up to this time had shed but one tear. But now the archdeacon's breath grew short, his bald forehead was bathed in sweat, his nails bled upon the stones, and the skin was torn from his knees by the walls ; he heard his cassock, which had caught upon the gutter, crack, and the seams give way at every stress he laid upon it. To increase the difficulty, this gutter terminated in a leaden pipe, which bent under the weight of his body ; the archdeacon felt this pipe giving way slowly. The miserable creature said to himself, that when his hands were broken with weariness, when his cassock was rent, and when this lead was broken, he must fall, and terror seized upon his entrails. From time to time he looked bewilderedly at a narrow ledge, ten feet lower down, formed by some ornaments in the sculpture, and he besought of Heaven, from the bottom of his distressed soul, that he might finish his life on that space of two feet wide, were it even to last a hundred years. Once he ventured to cast his eyes below him into the street, into the abyss, and when he raised his head, the eyes were closed, the hair stood upright.

"There was something terrible in the silence of these two men. While the archdeacon, but a few feet below him, was agonizing in this dreadful manner, Quasimodo wept, and looked at the Grève. The archdeacon, seeing that his convulsive springs served only to



shake the frail support that was left to him, determined not to move. There he remained, embracing the gutter, scarcely breathing, stirring not, without any other motion, than that mechanical convulsion of the body, which men feel in dreams when they fancy themselves falling. His fixed eyes were open in a staring and unnatural manner. But by little and little he lost ground; his fingers slipped upon the gutter; he felt the weakness of his arms, and the weight of his body increased; the bending lead which supported him, was gradually declining more and more towards the abyss. He saw below him, frightful thing! the roof of the Saint Jean le Rond, as small as in a map; one after another he fixed his eyes upon the impassive sculptures of the tower, like him suspended over the precipice, but without terror for themselves, or pity for him. All around him was of stone; before his eyes were open-mouthed monsters; far, far below him, the pavement of the Place de la Grève; above his head, Quasimodo, who wept. There were in the square before the church, some groups of curious grave people, quietly endeavouring to guess who could be the madman who had found out so singular an amusement, and the priest could hear them say, for the sound of their voices rose sharp and thin even up to him, 'But he will break his neck.' Quasimodo wept.

"At length the archdeacon, foaming with rage and terror, felt that all was useless, yet he collected his remaining strength for a last effort. He clung more forcibly to the gutter, making an effort with his knees, and forcing his fingers into a crevice between the stones; and thus succeeded in climbing up, perhaps, a foot. But this struggle made the leaden pipe on which he depended bend lower down, and at the same instant his cassock split; then feeling every thing give way from under him, while only his stiff, failing fingers still held to any thing, the miserable man closed his eyes, and loosed his hold upon the gutter. He fell."

There are so many beauties scattered through this book, that we could be half inclined, upon account of them, to forgive its evident tendency, if in the last chapter the author had not gone beyond all that an ordinary imagination can conceive of disgusting.

Victor Hugo has published but few novels. He is far—and we are thankful for it—from having the prodigious fecundity of Georges Sand, and the many other novelists, who, with inferior abilities, feel an equal ardour in labouring, like her, to destroy the social edifice. Amongst these writers Balzac is the most popular. His style is unregulated, and often incorrect, but it is not wanting in a sort of brilliancy, and he excels in painting the details of domestic life in certain ranks of society; for when he attempts to describe the private life of the higher orders, he immediately exhibits the grossest ignorance of their manners, habits, and even lan-

guage, and his sketches become so many failures. *Le Père Goriot* is one of his best novels.

Jean Goriot begins by being a mere workman in the trade of making vermicelli. By dint of labour and economy, he has bought the shop of his master, who had perished on the scaffold in 1793, and continuing to live with the same frugality, he in the end accumulates a fortune of 60,000fr. a year.

"His trade in grain seemed to have absorbed all his intelligence. If the point was to buy corn, flour, or other grain; to test their goodness, the profit to be derived from them; to prophesy the abundance or dearth of the ensuing harvest; to obtain bargains at a cheap rate; he was then unequalled. But take him out of his especial province, his simple and obscure shop, upon the steps of which he spent his idle hours, leaning his shoulders against the door-post, and he became again the stupid workman, a man incapable of following an argument, insensible to mental pleasures; such a one as would go to sleep at the theatre; one of those Parisian Calibans who are strong only in stupidity. These natures are all alike; almost all of them you will find are actuated by some sublime feeling of the heart."

The feeling which predominates over all the faculties of Jean Goriot (who has been for years a widower), is an exaggerated, exclusive, and passionate love for his two daughters, Anastasia and Delphine. He has given them a brilliant education, and lavishes upon them all the enjoyments of the most expensive luxury; and when the eldest marries a man of high birth, the Baron de Restaud, and the second a rich banker, M. de Nucingen, he gives up to them all his fortune, reserving for himself only his shop. But at the restoration, his two sons-in-law, the one representing the landed aristocracy of the Faubourg St. Germain, and the other the monied aristocracy of the Chaussée d'Antin, require him to give up his trade, of which they are ashamed; and as both are equally annoyed by the plebeian manners of the poor merchant of vermicelli, they allow him to visit them but seldom, and only in the morning, and when they are alone. Goriot takes refuge in a boarding-house, kept by Mme. de Vanguer, near the Pantheon, in what is called the Latin quarter. Here he lives with his usual parsimony; but his daughters have lovers who want money, and husbands who are satisfied to let them do what they please, provided that their expenses do not exceed their large allowances. They then turn to their feeble father, who, knowing the use they make of his money, approving and not blaming it, strips himself of all the remains

of his past opulence, and gives them even his last farthing. His reward is a caress from his daughters, and then he is happy, because he has been allowed to press to his heart Anastasia or Delphine, whichever of the two adulterous wives he has last been able to assist in the pursuit of her criminal pleasures. What shall we say of the author, who, after describing one of these scenes, dares to compare this foolish father with the son of the living God?

"And the old man strained his daughter to his heart with so vehement, so wild a pressure, that she said, 'Ah, you hurt me!'

"'I have hurt you!' he cried, growing pale with alarm, and he looked at her with a superhuman expression of grief; for to paint the countenance of this Christ (!!!) of paternity, it would be necessary to compare it with those figures which the princes of the easel have invented, to pourtray the passion which the Saviour of the world endured for the sake of mankind." !!!

But in this respect Balzac only follows the example of Georges Sand and the other French novelists, who constantly introduce the name of God into their most licentious descriptions, as if the most obscene immorality wanted savour unless it was seasoned by blasphemy.

The conclusion of the story is, that poor Goriot, while his daughters are at a ball, dies of misery, and almost of hunger. We will not, however, dismiss this novel without doing justice to the talent the author has shown in the scenes in the boarding-house, in which he displays a degree of humour rarely to be met with in a French publication. His delineation of the escaped galley-slave, Jaques Collin, who owes to his hair-breadth escapes the surname "Cheat the gallows," is truly capital. Coarse and refined, vulgar and gentlemanly, Vautrin has lived in all ranks of society during the course of his perilous profession, and he entertains for his fellow-creatures a cold and sarcastic contempt, which in his own eyes justifies his excesses; he believes himself better than them, and whatever may be the opinion of the law and the courts of justice, he is himself firmly convinced that he has the right on his side, in the constant war which he wages against their persons and property; yet he is influenced by one noble passion—that of friendship. Although guilty of many thefts and many assassinations, he is yet innocent of the forgery for which he has been condemned to twenty years of hard labour, and of which he has allowed himself to be convicted through a desire to spare his friend Franchessite, a colonel of the old guard, and the favoured lover of lady Brandon, who has left her husband

to live with him ; and they are represented as being now the handsomest, the most admired, and the most fashionable couple in the French capital. Jaques Collin, under the name of Vautrin, is one of the inmates in the house of Mme. Vanguer, from whence he directs the operations of the society "of the ten thousand," a formidable association of robbers, so called because they only take the field when there are at least ten thousand francs to be gained by it. Betrayed by an old Mlle. Michonneau, a lodger in the house, he is arrested by the police, who are fully determined upon killing him if he makes any resistance, so well are they aware of his dangerous character.

" 'In the name of the law and of the king,' said one of the officers, whose words were partly lost in the murmur of astonishment.

" There was soon deep silence in the dining room, and the boarders fell back to make way for three of these men, who all held their hands in their side pockets, where each grasped a loaded pistol. Two gendarmes, who followed the police, stood in the doorway of the dining-room, while two others occupied that which opened upon the stairs, and the steps and arms of several soldiers were heard on the pebbly pavement of the street below. There was no hope of flight for 'Cheat the gallows,' upon whom all eyes were now rivetted. The chief of the party commenced operations, by going straight up to him, and giving him so sharp a rap upon the head, that it caused his wig to fly off, and discover the head of Collin in all its deformity. His short hair, of a brick-dust red, gave a frightful character of strength, mingled with cunning, to his head and face, which were in harmony with the bust, and were so illuminated by a sinister intelligence, that it seemed as if the fires of hell had lighted them up. The man and his whole character stood revealed to the comprehension of every one :—Vautrin ; his past, present, and future life ; his implacable doctrines ; his religion, found in his own good pleasure ; the royalty which he derived from the cynicism of his thoughts and acts, and from the strength of an organization which was equal to every thing. The blood rushed to his face, his eyes shone like those of the wild cat ; he sprang up with a motion of such ferocious energy, and with a roar so frightful, that he drew cries of terror from the inmates of the house. At sight of this lion's gesture, and supported by the general clamour, the police constables drew out their pistols. Collin saw the muzzles of the pistols, he understood his danger, and at once gave proof of the highest human power. It was a horrible and majestic spectacle ! His countenance presented a phenomenon, which could only be compared to that of the cauldron, filled with that smoking vapour that would overthrow mountains, yet which a drop of cold water can instantly dissolve. The drop of water which cooled his rage was a reflection, rapid as lightning. He smiled, and looked at his wig.

" ' This is not one of your civil days,' said he to the chief of the police.

" He summoned the gendarmes by a nod, and held out his hands to them.

" ' Come, gentlemen, put me on the fetters. I take all present to witness that I offer no resistance.' "

" There was a murmur of admiration through the hall, excited by the promptness with which lava and fire had appeared, and had returned into this human volcano. \* \* \* \*

" He paused, and looked fixedly at the boarders.

" ' And you,' he said, ' are you fools? have you never before seen a criminal? A criminal of the stamp of Collin, who is now before you, is a man who is less base than his fellows, and who protests against the deep deceptions of the social contract; those are the words of Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose pupil I am proud to be. I am alone against the government, with all its heap of tribunals, gendarmes, and budgets, and I can match them all.' "

When you find in a French reading-room, a volume which is worn out and dirty, while still new; bearing, when you open it, the marks of unwashed fingers upon its stained and crumpled leaves,—you may be sure at once that it is part of a novel of Paul de Kock's. His works are the joy of ladies-maids, the customary amusement of the grisettes, the consolation of hackney-coach-men in their hours of idleness; he knows their passions and their prejudices; he writes for them: and most certainly, if the talent of a writer were to be measured by the number of his readers, or even by the admiration they entertain for him, Paul de Kock would be the first novelist in France. Without, however, accepting this criterion, it is impossible not to acknowledge in him a high degree of merit, but which would be more deserving of admiration, if he wrote with less negligence: but little does he care for literary fame, if he can make his reader weep or smile at his pleasure, if he can excite his curiosity, and draw him on through all the improbabilities of the story, without giving him time to look about him. There is a naiveté in his style, which frequently reminds one of La Fontaine, and which pleases every one,—people of taste, as well as the lower orders, of whom he is the delight. Unhappily, in the use of his great powers, he is as careless of morality as of every thing else; and if he has not the premeditated corruption of Georges Sand, it is still certain that his novels must have a deplorable effect upon the minds of those for whom they are principally written. As it is their good will he seeks to gain, it is always from amongst their orders that he chuses his heroes, and nothing can more strongly

prove the progress which ideas of equality are now making in France, than the nature of most of his plots. Thus in Zizine, his principal personage, Jerome, is a water-carrier, who has adopted a little girl (of course a bastard, or how could she be so perfect!) and given her the name of Zizine: the mother, who died in giving her birth, has been seduced by a rich young man, who courted her under a false name, carried her off, and then forsook her. She left in Jerome's possession, only a letter without any address, which she had not strength to finish, but which she had begun to write to her father, M. de Guerreville, a rich man, who is inconsolable for the loss of his daughter, of whose fate he is ignorant. He has for many years sought her in vain, as also her seducer, whom he only knows under his assumed name,—when accident brings him into contact with Jerome, and Zizine, who passes for his daughter. There can be nothing more gracefully pleasing than the description of this child and the important part she plays in the novel. M. de Guerreville has rendered many services to Jerome, when through the intervention of Zizine, he meets Delaberge, her father, and the betrayer of his daughter, at the moment when the young man is about to be married. The marriage is broken off, and a duel takes place in which M. de Guerreville is dangerously wounded. He is waiting impatiently for his cure, that he may fight him again; but Jerome, the water-carrier, spares him that trouble. After long watching Emile Delaberge, and following him into the country, he meets him alone, and in a solitary place.

“ ‘One word, sir,’ said Jerome, placing himself before Emile, and stopping up the narrow pathway.

“ ‘What do you want with me?’ said the young man, secretly alarmed at the sudden apparition of this man, towards night, and in a lonely road.

“ ‘Oh, in the first place, set your mind at rest, I am not a robber, and want nothing with your purse.’

“ ‘What is it you do want, then?’

“ ‘You are M. Emile Delaberge, are you not?’

“ ‘Certainly.’

“ ‘Then I wish to fight with you.’

“ ‘Fight with me!’ replied Emile, smiling scornfully; ‘in the first place, I don’t fight with every one!’

“ ‘May be so: but you will fight with me.’

“ ‘Why? on what account? I do not know you,—I never even saw you.’

“ ‘Oh well, I am Jerome, my station is that of a water-carrier, and I am an honest man, I flatter myself. I know you; I know you fought



some time ago with M. de Guerreville, I do not know how you have wronged him, but I know that he says you are a wretch; and when a man of honour says that, it must be true,—and besides you have given him a severe wound of which he nearly died. This M. de Guerreville is my benefactor, and I come to avenge him. Do you now understand?"

"Ah! M. de Guerreville has chosen you as his defender."

"M. de Guerreville has not chosen me; M. de Guerreville does not even suspect what I am doing to-day, or he would perhaps have forbidden it, for he hopes to fight with you again himself, as soon as he is strong enough. But it is I who have determined to find you out, and to win of you the match which a brave man has lost. Come, I hope I have given you reasons enough,—now let us fight."

"No, I will not fight with you—of whom I know nothing: and so, once more let me pass."

"Ah, no nonsense,—you shall not pass from here."

"Learn that a man of my rank is not expected to fight with no one knows who!"

"With a nobody knows who! . . . a nobody knows who!" cried Jerome, coming up to Emile and looking closely at him. "Oh, very true, I am, to be sure, a nobody knows who, because I wear a jacket, and lodge in a garret, and gain my bread with the sweat of my brow! But you,—oh you are not a nobody knows who,—you are rich—you make a sensation, and what is more, you are an insolent, a shabby fellow, and a coward besides, so far as I see!"

"Villain!" cried Emile furiously; "ah, you shall pay dearly for this insolence."

"Ah, that is well,—you are growing warm at last,—that is fortunate,—now to our business—quick!"

According to the rules of poetical justice Delaberge is killed, and, soon after, the mystery of Zizine's birth is unravelled, and Jerome restores her to M. de Guerreville, who lavishes upon her all the affection he had felt for his daughter. The people, represented by Jerome, are flattered to the end.

"Excellent Jerome," said M. de Guerreville, when he regained strength to speak, "I am indebted to you for all my happiness . . . Ah my friend, do not leave me again! you shall give up your business and pass the remainder of your days in rest and opulence."

"I take my rest?" said Jerome, "why should I? I am not ill. Give up my business? Oh no, M. de Guerreville, allow me to continue still a water-carrier,—and nothing but a water-carrier. You will not receive me with less pleasure on that account, and to me it will give more satisfaction. Ah, when I am no longer strong enough to carry my buckets, I won't say then,—I will come and ask you for a shelter in some corner; you will allow me still to embrace my Zizinette, and I want nothing more to make me happy."

"M. de Guerreville's only answer was, to press the Auvergnat in his arms, and the little girl jumped about his neck."

Paul de Kock has no rivals in his line, but Balzac has many: amongst whom, we will only mention, Frederic Soulie, Eugène Sue, La Touche and Alphonse Karr. The first has written, amongst many other novels, all tending to the same conclusions, the *Memoirs of the Devil*, in eight volumes.—Satan, bound by a compact, is obliged in all things to obey the young Baron de Luizzi, who, tormented by insatiable curiosity, commands him to give the secret history of all the persons with whom he has any connexion. To his great astonishment, he learns that there is not one of them whose life is not a tissue of abominations. He is himself the issue of a double incest, and of the numerous women who are passed in review, all are guilty; and those the most so, whose reputation for virtue is best established. Eugène Sue professes the same contempt for the present state of society; and in a long romance called *Attar Gull*, he has taken the trouble to justify his opinion, by choosing for his hero a negro, stained with the most odious crimes,—and who, after having assassinated the master who had given him liberty, obtains by dint of hypocrisy the prize for virtue, which is annually adjudged by the French Academy. La Touche is mad at once with pride and with materialism: and Alphonse Karr, who is evidently progressing, even in a moral point of view, has not yet explicitly separated himself from that phalanx of novelists, who reckon amongst their number the celebrated reviewer Jules Janin; and in the name of each of whom Auguste Suchet seems to have written the greater part of the following lines at the commencement of his novel of the *Brother and Sister*.

“As for the object of this book, since certain critics make it a point that every writer should have a devise upon his shield, the author declares that in respect to the form of the work, he has endeavoured to interest and affect the feelings without love,—and as to its essential groundwork, he has intended to make a formal attack upon the family,—because the greater part of the evils which desolate society, appear to him to arise from the monstrous vices of this despotic institution. He is firmly persuaded, that all amelioration of the human race is impossible, until a state democratically organized, shall take upon itself the charge of the young citizens, from the moment when the cares of the woman have become useless to them, to bring them up in common, following, in each of them, the direction indicated by his cerebral faculties taken in general. Until then, according to the author's views, every attempt made to bring men to a love and respect for their fellows, will be rendered abortive by the hereditary privileges and by the selfishness of castes.”

We want space to carry any further our examination of French novelists, but we have already mentioned those which are best known, and have said enough of them to give an idea of the present state of this branch of literature amongst our neighbours. As we wish to do them justice, we will admit, without hesitation, that much native talent, abilities which, better directed, would do credit to any country, are there uselessly lavished,—ingloriously thrown away. From what these writers do, and from the rapidity with which they do it,—in general, too, during the course of a most dissipated life,—it would be unjust to deny that they would be capable of doing better, if they were not wanting in two things,—a perception of moral truth and leisure. Enslaved by the only portion of the French public, which takes pleasure in their disgusting fictions, they are obliged by the great competition amongst themselves, to make them more and more disgusting; and as, after all, they only obtain a small remuneration for their labour, they are again compelled to multiply them as much as possible in order to subsist. We have before us a plan prepared by M. Emile de Girardin, in 1835, for remedying the decay of French commerce in the bookselling line: and we take it for granted his facts are correct, as his sources of information appear to have been excellent. According to him the sale of the works of three of these novelists only,—Georges Sand, Victor Hugo, and Paul de Kock, is from two, to two thousand five hundred copies: and the price of their copyright, is from 3,000 to 4,000 francs, (£125 to £140) a volume. Eight or nine other novelists receive from the bookseller from 1,000 to 1,750 fcs. a volume, according as he expects a sale of the lowest number, one thousand, or the highest, one thousand five hundred copies. About a dozen at the utmost of the others, who sell upwards of five hundred, and fewer than one thousand copies, receive from 500 to 800 fcs. (£20 to £32) a volume. And finally, the plebeians of the dramatic Parnassus, whose number bids defiance to all calculation, do not receive more than from 100 to 300 fcs. (from £4 to £12) for their copyright. This important document bears us out fully in the opinion we have expressed, not only that the French Catholics, (those we mean that are really so), forbear to read these odious productions; but also that they are incomparably more numerous than is supposed: for otherwise, and in spite of the assistance afforded by the circulating libraries, how shall we explain the fact of such a limited sale of even the most celebrated publications of this kind? We must

add, however, that during about the last two years, the writers we are speaking of, have found a new resource for the sale of the poisonous trash in which they deal. The daily papers have lent them their columns, and the prints formerly dedicated to literary and scientific disquisitions, are now changed into an interminable series of novels, published as it were in numbers, that come out daily with fatal regularity. This manner of forcing them upon the notice of every subscriber to a newspaper, must in the end be attended with baneful consequences. The trial of Courvoisier has practically shewn the influence of immoral books; and perhaps on a future occasion, on enquiring into the administration of justice in France, we may take an opportunity of shewing in how many cases the novelists of that unhappy country have led their readers to the scaffold.

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ART. V.—1. *The Impossibility of Civil or Religious Liberty under the Papal Supremacy.—Popery the Enemy of God and Man.* Tracts by the Protestant Association. 1840.

2. *Popery as opposed to Knowledge, the Morals, the Wealth, and the Liberty of Mankind*—"A prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness." London: 1838.

3. *The Homilies appointed to be read in Churches; to which are added, the Articles of Religion, Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiastical.* Printed for the London Prayer Book and Homily Society. 1833.

WE now proceed to redeem the pledge given in the closing paragraph of the first article in our February number. For the determination of the question which we have undertaken to consider, it is obviously unnecessary to enter into any antiquarian researches as to the means by which the government of England was brought to that state, in which it was found at the *Reformation*. All we have to do is to compare it as it was then, and had been for many years before, with what it subsequently became. For the sake of precision, and for the purpose of determining the question at issue, on authority to which no exception can be taken, we shall commence with the period since which we find the rolls of parliament preserved with some regularity—the early part of the reign of Edward III. Before, however, entering on the character of

the constitution in Catholic and Protestant times, we may be allowed to make a few observations on the opinions which commonly prevail, as to the influence of the Reformation in promoting civil and religious liberty, and of Catholicism in retarding it.

One of the principal grounds advanced by ingenious writers for supposing England to enjoy more freedom since, than it did before, the Reformation, is the comparative amount of ignorance prior to, and of learning or "enlightenment" since, that event. Admitting for a moment the correctness of this latter assumption, does it necessarily follow that liberty has been better understood and more securely enjoyed? We fear that the history of the human race does not teach us to regard learning and liberty as twin sisters. From the earliest ages the East has been remarkable for the learning of its sages, and the general civilization and enlightenment, and abject thralldom of its people. It was when they were in a state of comparative "ignorance and barbarism," the Athenians performed those wonders in defence of their liberties which have rendered them immortal. When they advanced in "enlightenment" to such a degree that the lowest mob would hiss an orator or actor for a false accent, they were utterly unfit for freedom or self-government, and became the slaves of the first marauder who thought it worth while to attack them. There were more men employed in that city under the sway of a Roman despot in resolving philological quibbles, than were sufficient to protect it from all the power of Persia. The Spartans were remarkable for their disregard of learning and the arts, and yet they retained their freedom many ages after their neighbours had become well-bred slaves. What connexion can be traced between learning and philosophy, and the defence of Thermopylæ? Alexander, who wept when he had no more countries to subjugate, was the pupil of "the philosopher"—was a most munificent patron of letters, and always slept with some volumes of epic poetry under his pillow. The Ptolemies were the greatest patrons of literature in ancient times, and had perhaps the most accomplished set of slaves in the world. It was only when liberty began to decline in Rome that literature sprung up; her first emperor was its first great patron; and one of her ablest and honestest writers in the days of her degeneracy and enlightenment, notices as a recipe for making slaves of the Britons, the giving their young gentlemen a sprinkling of the liberal arts, and a taste for learning, eloquence, refinement, and luxury, all

which he observes are looked upon as symptoms of civilization by the inexperienced, though they are really a portion of slavery.\* In the Greek empire, literature and the arts were most sedulously cultivated under the patronage of the emperors, while liberty was utterly unknown. The Saracens have been celebrated for their extraordinary attainments in arts and letters, yet they had no idea of setting any restraints on the power of their sovereigns. Letters and the arts could not have more liberal patrons than the Medici, and the various other paltry little despots who overthrew the freedom of the Italian republics. Never were they encouraged in France so much as by the most eminent enemies of its civil liberties. Look to Germany at the present moment, swarming with poets, philosophers, and scholars, enthusiastically ranting on every earthly subject but the liberty of their country, and liberally patronised as a sort of police by its different princes. Look to England since "the dawn of enlightenment." Henry VIII, the most absolute and most uncontrolled despot under whom she had groaned since the days of the Conqueror, was the first of her sovereigns who, in that period, got the name of writing a book; Edward VI was a sort of literary phenomenon for his years; Elizabeth was the most learned woman of her age; James I had such "loads of learned lumber" that he seemed more qualified for a pedagogue than a king; Charles I was an accomplished scholar; and Charles II an *homme de lettres* and a wit. What was the character of our literature in that period? was it favourable to liberty? From the Reformation to the Revolution, with the exception of the reign of Charles I, and the Protectorate, our republic of letters seems to have been in a conspiracy against national liberty. All our poets were mere venal sycophants of the court. Of Shakspeare it has been observed, that in all his works there is not a single passage in favour of English liberty, and, to his honour, that neither is there any in behalf of despotism. He was a shrewd, sensible, high-spirited fellow, who having imbibed a regard for Popery and liberty, with his mother's milk, and seeing both in a state of transition, and Protestantism and slavery in the ascendant, resolved to steer

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\* "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abuuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum porticus et balnea et convivorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset." Jac. Agricola. c. 21.



clear of all hazards and say nothing of one or the other; though unquestionably a sneer against either of the former, or a florid trope in favour of either of the latter, would be the most acceptable sacrifice he could offer to Elizabeth. He, however, stands alone among the dramatists, of whose degrading sycophancy and king-worship no words but their own can convey an impression. Look at her philosophers—at Bacon, whose glory was servility to James, and who sought and exercised his several offices only to promote his own selfish ends, by betraying the legal rights of his country to the prerogative fancies of that royal pedant. Look at Raleigh—the gallant, the accomplished, the romantic Raleigh—degraded into a crawling, craven libeller of popular liberty, and eulogist of despotism. Look at Hobbes, prostituting his talents to the same odious object. Look at the Universities and the Church, propagating slavery as an article of faith. Look at her historians, belying their fathers to-enslave their contemporaries—her best political writers floundering about between the orthodoxy of despotism and the damnable heresy of civil liberty—and, as the consequence of all, her whole people “selling their birthright for porridge which was their own.”

But why seek to connect learning and liberty at all? Liberty is the first and most important right of human nature, and God in His beneficence has bestowed sufficient natural light on His creatures to qualify them for its enjoyment, without borrowing rushlights from each other. Is it by learning, or men of learning, that nations have been ever saved from thralldom, or governed in liberty, equality, and justice? Is it by men of learning that all the great business of life is transacted? If this learning be a thing so calculated to exalt and magnify those who are blessed with it, why since the Reformation have those very persons been remarkable among us for the absence of all those other qualities, which enable men to take high stations among their fellows, and for the want of all those comforts which make life tolerable? Is not “a poor author” a bye-word? Many deem these circumstances undeserving of attention; but what, we ask, can be the use of learning or any other pursuit to those engaged in it, except to secure them independence and happiness here, and qualify them for happiness hereafter? For the attainment of these objects, it has hitherto been pre-eminently worse than useless. Are our merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, agriculturists, country gentlemen, soldiers, seamen, and statesmen, men of

learning? Is not a devotion to literature a lawyer's or physician's high road to ruin? Literature is a very good thing in its way for those who have no other employment, but with the stirring real business of life it has little concern. Natural talent, aided by the experience necessary in each department, is what settles the affairs of mankind. Have the greatest persons of modern times, to omit all the ancients, been scholars of unfathomable profundity? Was Cromwell? Peter the Great could not write his own name. Washington had only enough of ciphering and trigonometry to qualify him for his original profession of a country surveyor. The men who proposed the Declaration of Independence were not remarkable for their erudition--the most enlightened among them were mere lawyers, a profession on which men of letters and genius look down with superlative contempt. It would be easy, but it is needless, to swell the catalogue. Nine-tenths of the greatest men of modern times had little more to rely on than their "mother wit." Look to the very question of liberty in all ages. In the ancient world, all the most illustrious lovers of freedom, were men buried, according to modern phraseology, "in darkness and ignorance." Could there be a more perfect state of freedom than that described by Cæsar and Tacitus as existing among the ancient Germans? Look to the American Indians, and see how just are their notions of liberty, and to what an extent and with what correctness of judgment they carry out their first principles of it. Europe is now admiring the gallantry of the Circassians and Syrians in defence of their mountain freedom. When the barbarians overran the Roman Empire, they brought with them a spirit of liberty and equality, to which its subjects, in all their light and learning, and civilization, had been strangers for ages. This spirit, embodied in the feudal laws and institutions, and inculcated in Parliaments, Cortes, Diets, universities, colleges, monasteries, and confessionals, preserved mankind from thralldom up to the sixteenth century, when--strange--light, learning, civilization, and slavery, again acquired the ascendant. And what and who saved England from the general doom? The Popish clergy--those sots and slaves and boobies--were the first to deny Henry VIII's right of taxing by royal prerogative. An alderman of London, Read, was the first who suffered impressment, rather than acknowledge its legality by paying a sixpence; and it was only the threat of an insurrection by the whole mass of the people, that made that monster withdraw the warrants, and falsely declare that they had been

issued without his authority. To the last, Hallam attributes all the merit of our being saved from an avowed despotism under that Reformer. "Nothing," says he, "but the courage and love of freedom natural to the English Commons, speaking in the hoarse voice of tumult, though very ill supported by their superiors, preserved us in so great a peril."\* What made Coke, Selden, Cotton, St. John, and the other lawyers of the popular party, such towers of strength against the enemies of the national liberty, but their knowledge of the laws and customs, and assertions of the right of those, whom we are taught to regard as illiterate barbarians? What was the profession most obnoxious to the Tudors and Stuarts? Perhaps the wits, philosophers, and *hommes de lettres*? No: the common-law practitioners—those shallow-minded, ignorant wretches, who had not one enlarged or enlightened idea, whose very trade "narrows the understanding and corrupts the heart"—at least a great philosopher has said so; who never looked into any book but their old musty statutes, and Popish digests, and year-books; who would not learn prerogative law from the Scriptures or the Homilies, or the writings of poets, statesmen, or philosophers, but "monopolised all to be governed by their year-books," and were in the habit of hanging "their noses over the flowers of the crown, and blowing and snuffing upon them, till they had taken both scent and beauty off them."† Was it for lending out scraps of polite literature to his party, that Cotton's library was shut up,—an affliction, by which his heart was broken? No: it was merely for giving them precedents of the practices of their Popish and barbarian fathers. Was it by exhibitions of Greek, Latin, Scriptural, metaphysical, and philosophical lore, that the Petition of Right was obtained? or, was it not by collecting and insisting on those rights, which their Popish fathers had enjoyed without question, and which, if questioned, they would have "died to save"? The popular party did not demand a single privilege of Charles, which had not been enjoyed without any manner of doubt or disputation prior to the dawn of enlightenment. Was Hampden a mighty luminary of literature? Who offered the sturdiest resistance to Cromwell when in the meridian of his power? A merchant of London, and the common jury who would not convict Lilburne. To whom principally is it said that we are indebted for the Revolution? The jury who tried the seven bishops,

\* C. H. vol. i. p. 23.

† See Strafford's Lett. &amp; Disp. vol. i. p. 130, 201.

and a lawyer of the name of Somers. Did not the tea-drinking housewives of Boston exhibit a more correct estimate of the doctrine of taxation without representation, than that walking dictionary of literature, Dr. Samuel Johnson? Who, is it said, preserved the last remnant of English liberty from George III and his ministers? A lawyer of the name of Erskine, and the juries who tried Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall. Who contributed most to the passing of the Reform Bill?—the mechanics of Birmingham, or the scholars of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin?

Never was there a system which required less learning or intelligence to understand or recollect it, than the leading principles of the English constitution. These were the plainest and most obvious dictates of natural equity, and must have forced themselves on the attention of every man of common sense and common honesty. The meeting of the entire community in a general council for general government and defence, and the trying of each member for offences against the laws by the entire community so met, or a select number of impartial honest persons, are the rudest elements of civil society, and are to be seen in continual operation in all simple, natural, unenlightened communities; as among the ancient Germans—the barbarians, who overthrew the Roman empire—the free Tartars, American Indians, and South Sea Islanders of the present day. The process by which parliaments and juries in England were derived from these principles, required no great depth of philosophy or learning. The trial of a peer at this day, by his peers, is a remnant of the earliest mode of administering justice; the selecting of twelve commoners to try a commoner was a mere conventional regulation, forced on the people by the great increase of their numbers, and diffusion over a large expanse of country. From a similar necessity arose the practice of selecting delegates to the common-council. When an English freeman was asked for any money by way of tax, his first inquiry was, has this been voted by the majority of the community, and is my share greater in proportion to my means than that required from my neighbours? And when he was accused of any offence, or “impleaded in point of property,” his first consolation was that the matter of fact would be settled by twelve honest indifferent neighbours, the law be such as the entire country had made for general regulation, and be expounded by judges whom the entire country had approved or selected. These were the fundamental principles of the constitution; and surely the people who could not understand or recollect them

without the assistance of "the schoolmaster" must have been dolts. The various laws passed from time to time to preserve these fundamental principles from abuse in practice, and to regulate the enjoyment of private property and the minor relations of society, were equally simple, and were very few in number. At the present time no one can have any conception, without reading the Parliament Rolls, of the extreme jealousy with which they guarded against making any alterations in the common law, or overloading the Statute Book with many long and cumbersome enactments. All the statutes, passed up to the end of Henry VII, do not occupy two volumes of the authorised edition;\* while those from that period to the end of Charles II, fill no less than four. The brevity, simplicity, and expressiveness of the ancient statutes are the admiration of all persons. There are in them no unmeaning verbiage, no needless repetitions, no contradictory clauses. They were drawn up by men—the judges most commonly—who understood the law perfectly, knew the grievance complained of, the remedy desired, and the exact meaning of every phrase they used, and who, therefore, had no occasion to attempt to veil their ignorance in a cloud of words. With all our enlightenment, those amongst us who have turned their attention to this subject only seek to restore this system. Sir Edward Coke passes the highest eulogies on the early jealousy against statutory innovations on the common law; from which he says most of the doubts and questions which continually occur are derived, "*either when an ancient pillar of the common law is taken out of it, or when new remedies are added to it; by the first arise dangers and difficulties, and by the second the common law rightly understood is not bettered, but in many cases so fettered that it is thereby very much weakened.*"† In reference therefore to the mere excellence of the laws, the wisdom of this course is settled by the highest legal authority: and as to its propriety in reference to their adaptation to the capacities of the people, Sir Thomas More's opinion may be deserving of some attention: "They (the Utopians) have but few laws, for to people, to instruct, and constitute, very few do suffice. Yea,

\* The notes, introduction, and different copies of the Charters occupy nearly one-third of the first volume. The French and Latin originals occupy half of the remainder of the two volumes. "The statutes passed in the reign of George III, comprehend" says Crabbe, "nineteen thick quarto volumes, while those from Henry III, to William III, are included in three comparatively small quarto volumes."—*History of England*, 565.

† 9 Rep. pref. xii.

this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable books of laws and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws, which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker than that any man can well understand them..... In Utopia every man is a cunning lawyer; for, as I said, they have very few laws, and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just; for all laws, they say, be made and published only to the intent that by them every man shall be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtle interpretation of them, forasmuch as few can attain thereto, can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, plain, and gross meaning of the law is open to every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation upon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it, and to the finding out whereof neither the gross judgment of the people can attain, nor the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings can suffice thereto.\* Thus few, plain, simple, and adapted to the "gross judgment of the vulgar," did the laws remain to the time of Henry VIII. That "the vulgar" did comprehend and admire them, and were ready to peril their lives in defence of them, is a matter too notorious to be questioned by any one who does not look on all English history as a fiction.

But admitting that we are wrong in all this, and that a considerable degree of enlightenment is necessary to secure civil liberty in advanced stages of civilization, where is the evidence of there having been any want of really "useful knowledge" before the Reformation, or of any superior degree of "enlightenment" between it and the Revolution,—the epoch of the perfection of the constitution according to Protestants? On this question there can be no higher authority than Mr. Hallam's comment on Hume's expression of surprise at the *accuracy* with which the parliament made some provisions respecting the levying of a subsidy in the reign of Richard II,—*"Those rude times,"* Mr. Hallam says, "in this epithet we see the foundation of his mistakes. The age of Richard might perhaps be called rude in some respects.

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\* Utopia, B. 2. c. 9.



*But in prudent and circumspect perception of consequences, and an accurate use of language, there could be no reason why it should be deemed inferior to our own.* If Mr. Hume had ever deigned to glance at the legal decisions reported in the year-books of those times, he would have been surprised, not only at the utmost accuracy, but a subtle refinement in verbal logic, which none of his own metaphysical treatises could surpass.\* He might have referred also to their digests, pleadings, statutes, proceedings in parliament, treaties, conveyances, and all other documents, which leave no room for improvement by modern enlightenment. If we only reflect on the great rewards then held out to proficiency in learning, we cannot adopt for a second the "vulgar errors" on this subject. The century which produced Roger Bacon, and his illustrious fellow-Oxonians, Anthony Wood regards as the proudest era in the annals of Oxford. In two years that philosopher was enabled to lay out 2,000*l.* at that university, in buying books and making experiments,—a sum equal to nearly 30,000*l.* at the present day.† The spread of the art of printing, after the Reformation, is supposed to have afforded such facilities for acquiring learning, as to give the men of the interval between the Reformation and Revolution a decided superiority over those of the preceding two centuries. But were the other means of instruction in those periods exactly equal? Were there not more schools and colleges in Catholic times? Was not education more encouraged? Was it not afforded at a cheaper rate? Was it not pressed on the acceptance of the poor? If the commonly received notions respecting the paucity of inhabitants in the former period be correct, we must arrive at the conclusion, from the immense multitude of schools and colleges in that time, and of the numbers who attended them, that the proportion of the population receiving "a college education" then, was as 100 to 1 of those receiving it at the Revolution. At Oxford, in those "dark ages," there were 1000 scholars annually educated gratis—one of whose places, we are told, neither easily could, nor ought, nor used to be vacant for more than a month or two.‡ One writer informs us, that there were above 15,000 scholars there in 1264, "of those only whose names were entered on

\* "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 365, note.

† We here follow Mr. Hallam's opinion as to the difference in the value of money in those and the present times.

‡ "Et nullus locus vacare debebat, nec facile poterat ad unum vel alterum mensem." Pitsei De Reb. Anglicis tom. prim. 32.

the matriculation book ;”—that Henry III, on making that city his rendezvous, expelled them ;—that many of them thereupon went to the barons at Northampton ; and that when Henry attacked that town “ *the students of Oxford had a banner by themselves, advanced right against the king, and they did more harm to him in the fight than the rest of the barons.\**” We are told that the number there in 1300 was 30,000—which is also said to have been the number in 1340.† The other university was also crowded to a degree almost incredible at the present time. At the Reformation all these things were altered. A great part of the houses of both universities went to ruin ; all the schools attached to the monasteries were destroyed ; most of the cathedral schools and colleges were converted to private purposes ; education was discouraged in every possible manner—was allowed only to the rich, and positively forbidden to the poor, as a most dangerous and pernicious article. Then, as to the extension of printing, was not its utility utterly neutralised, or rather, was it not rendered pernicious, by the censorship of the press, which existed by statute or prerogative from the time of Henry VIII till after the Revolution, and was exercised with a strictness and severity quite in character with the principles of the Established Church ? Nobody pretends to deny that at the Revolution, the mass of the people were buried in the grossest ignorance : even long after, when the Wesleys first started, they talked in almost the same style of the ignorance of the people of Cornwall—nay, of the people in the very heart of London—as they would of the South-Sea Islanders ; and the correctness of their description was allowed to be but too faithful. For two centuries after the Reformation, the gross ignorance or contemptible acquirements of the body of the Established clergy themselves, used to be continually alleged as partly the cause of their not being treated or regarded with the respect due to the clerical character. If they did not supply useful knowledge, who else did ? All writers concur as to the paucity, or rather total absence, of liberal political

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\* Speed, 737. The passage is marked in italics by Speed.

† Anderson, citing Speed, as to this being the usual number at that time, adds, “ Indeed there is nothing improbable in that account, when we consider the great number of monasteries then in England.”—*History of Commerce*, vol. i. 314. At the University of Bologna there were no fewer than 10,000 law-students in 1262. In the fourteenth century 10,000 graduates voted on a question agitated in the University of Paris.—Robertson’s “ Charles V.” vol. i. 324. The numbers there in the twelfth century exceeded, we are told, the number of the citizens.—*Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 78.

works within the above period—excepting, of course, the troubled reign of Charles I, and the Commonwealth, when for awhile the ancient free-trade in thoughts was restored. Hume could not meet an English writer of the reign of Elizabeth who spoke “of England as a limited but as an absolute monarchy, where the people had many privileges;”\* and he insists on the silence of Camden and other writers, as to several notorious acts of despotic authority by her, as a proof that these were in accordance with the law and usage of that day.† Hallam complains of the barrenness of all constitutional information in the chroniclers of the same reign, and says it is more to be suspected, after the use of printing and the Reformation, “than in the ages when the monks compiled annals in their convents, reckless of the censures of courts, because independent of their permission. Grosser ignorance of public transactions is undoubtedly found in the chronicles of the middle ages, but far less of that deliberate mendacity, or of that insidious suppression, by which fear and flattery, and hatred, and thirst of gain, have, since the invention of printing, corrupted so much of the historical literature throughout Europe.”‡ Petyt, writing immediately after the Revolution, is compelled to denounce almost all the writers since the Reformation, as “libellers of our ancient constitution;” and speaking of the early records, says, they run “counter to the rhapsodies of the hasty and huddled thoughts of most, if not all, our historians who have writ since the Reformation. Nay, indeed, many of the notions and principles they have published to the world, touching the absoluteness of our old English monarchy, are so palpably inconsistent with these authorities, that they may be very well taken for downright audacious affronts to the truth of all antiquity.”§ So scarce was political knowledge of a liberal character, and in such utter ignorance were the people kept of all their ancient rights, and of all notions of freedom, that Locke was regarded as a sort of political Newton when he published his work upon government, though the only feasible and valuable part of it was the exposition (without acknowledgment, of course) of doctrines which had been taught and practised in Catholic England “from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary;” and for the repromulgation of which, the jesuits had been scouted as firebrands through Europe.

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\* Hist. of Eng. vol. vi. p. 568.

† Id. vol. v. p. 193.

‡ Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 268.

§ Jus. Parliam. Introd. p. xiv.

Now, the very reverse of all this, was the case prior to the Reformation. The political instruction then administered was of "the right sort;" and the remaining species of secular instruction, of that very character to which modern enlightenment, after all its vagaries, has reverted, "more attentive to wisdom than to science and art—to forming the judgment properly, and by consequence the will and the conscience, than to stuffing the memory and heating the imagination."\* Of this sort of instruction there was then no scarcity. The parochial clergy alone—leaving out of consideration the schools, colleges, and universities—were sufficient to afford it in abundance. The parishes were very small, the clergy very numerous, and the inculcation of religious, moral, and political knowledge the only thing with which they gave themselves much trouble. Besides, so great was the number of monks and other religious, that the whole country was said to be swarming with them. There was then, in short, no pretence about "spiritual destitution;" the great complaint of the Reformers was, that the people were too deeply dyed with, and too much attached to, "the abominations of the Papal apostacy." We have already shown what the political tendencies of those Popish clergymen were. About their attachment to civil liberty there never yet has been a second opinion. Even Protestantism, amidst all its pious inventions, has never summoned up audacity enough to accuse them of the slightest leaning to despotism. Their glorious conduct was the theme of eulogy with all the learned Protestants of the 17th century, in their struggles with arbitrary power, and of degrading contrast with their Reformed successors. "The priests and confessors," says Petyt, "were strictly commanded to form and direct the consciences of the people to the observation and obedience of the great charter, and they did so; not like the Sibthorps and Manwarings of later times, who by their flatteries of prerogative for their own promotion, seek to ruin the subjects' property."† In all their writings there is not a single sentence in favour of despotism. On the contrary, the most ardent love of liberty, and the fiercest denunciations of its enemies in every shape, breathe through all their pages. Accustomed as Englishmen have been since the Reformation to

\* "Plus tendre à la sagesse qu'à la science et à l'art; plus à bien former le jugement, et par conséquent la volonté et la conscience, qu'à remplir la mémoire et rechauffer l'imagination."—Cited from Charron by Mr. Wyse, as the motto to one of his chapters on education.

† Rights of the Commons of England asserted, p. 107.

the fawning king-worship of churchmen, they can have no conception, without actually reading the works of our monkish writers, of the zeal with which they were animated in behalf of the rights of mankind. We only wish that every Englishman had a copy of their works side by side with the Homilies, the Canons, and the sermons of "the true Protestant Church"-men. They were the men who could not be bribed, cajoled, or bullied into concealing, misrepresenting, or justifying—justifying, indeed!—the crimes of tyrants against their people. Feeling some higher obligation than that of pandering to the whims of despots, they never feared or refused to warn kings of their duties; and never desecrated their holy office to culling or perverting scraps of Scripture to overthrow the freedom of their country. Their ignorant obstinacy on this point was probably, as we have already hinted, the fundamental error on account of which our sovereigns so greedily longed for a REFORMATION. Looking upon the Ten Commandments as binding upon kings and their ministers as well as others; conceiving every wrong done to any man under what authority soever, as an offence against God's laws; and imagining that the more kings and subjects were restrained by secular contrivances from committing such offences, the more they would approve themselves worthy children of heaven; they felt bound, by their allegiance to their Divine Master, to aid in the promotion and maintenance of every institution that might secure His creatures from violating His laws. We need not thank them, therefore, for being such zealots in behalf of civil liberty. Their conduct was the consequence of this error in their faith, which, with the other multitudinous abominations that marked the apostacy of their Church, was exploded at the Reformation; when it was discovered, by a more careful perusal of the Scriptures, that murder, robbery, torture, and all the crimes—we mean in the eyes of the carnal and ungodly—which could be perpetrated by one human being on another, were praiseworthy and meritorious actions, provided they were sanctioned by the authority of—Heaven's deputy. Their conduct with regard to villeins alone is the best evidence of their devotion to freedom. Immediately after the Conquest, the number of villeins was equal to that of all the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Thanks to the conduct of a bishop and abbot, the very fact of a man's being born in Kent was a bar to the claim of villeinage against him.\* By the ingenious contrivances invented in the

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\* Hallam's *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 391, citing Fitz. Nat. B.

courts of law over which they had presided, it was next to impossible to prove any man a villein.\* In the confessional they “convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was for one Christian man to hold another in bondage; so that temporal men, by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins;”† and to complete their detestation of the system, they raised villeins to the priesthood in such numbers, that the legislature was more than once obliged to interfere.‡ Such was their zeal, and so great was their success in this cause, that there was little more than a trace of villenage at the Reformation, so that the last unequivocal testimony of its existence occurs in the reign of Elizabeth, in a charter of manumission which she granted to some villeins on some of her manors.§ Not only on this, but on every other subject, they proved their zealous devotion to the civil liberties of England. They were, as we have already shown, the foremost in every measure of reform;—the first to resist the encroachments of the prerogative—the real sacred missionaries of freedom, who carried the great charter to the confessional and the altar, and so ingrained the love of liberty in the hearts of Englishmen, that centuries of Protestant instruction were not able to erase it.

Looking at the history of the Church of England as established in these kingdoms—(by-the-by, always recollecting, as in duty bound, that it is the best possible specimen of Protestantism the world can afford)—we cannot but regard it as one of those great religio-political heresies which in every age and clime have tended so much to enslave and debase mankind.

\* See 20 St. Tr. Somerset's case. The fundamental principle on which every presumption was made in favour of liberty, is thus laid down by that old Popish slave, Fortescue: “That must needs be judged to be a hard and unjust law, which tends to increase the servitude and lessen the liberty of mankind. For *human nature is evermore the advocate for Liberty*. God Almighty has declared himself the God of liberty: this being the gift of God to man in his creation, the other is introduced into the world by means of his own sin and folly; whence it is that everything in nature is so desirous of liberty, as being a sort of restitution to its primitive state. So that to go about to lessen this, is to touch men in the tenderest point; it is upon such considerations as these that the laws of England in all cases declare in favour of liberty.”—*De Laud. Leg. Ang.* c. 42.

† Sir Thomas Smith, *Commonwealth*, b. iii. c. 10—cited in Blackstone, vol. ii. c. 6. There is a sneer against churchmen, intimating that they themselves did not manumit; though they thus induced others to do so. The simple fact that they had about one-fourth of the kingdom, including bishop's lands, and that villenage was almost extinct, is the answer.

‡ It is one of the Constitutions of Clarendon that villeins should not be ordained without the consent of their lords (*M. Paris*. 101). The Commons petition in 1391, that no villein should put his children to school to advance them by way of the church.—*R. P.* 15, Ric. II, 394. See as to manumission by becoming a monk, friar &c. *Co. Litt.* Sec. 200-2.

§ Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. 393.



Nowhere, in ancient or modern history, can you find the ecclesiastical and civil administration united in one supreme head, that you do not also find civil thralldom the consequence. The one is the inevitable result of the other. Allow a king through his creatures to make your religion, and he is a botch at his trade if he do not make you a slave. Look, for instance, to the various nations of the east, in past and present times—to all Mahomedan countries—to Russia and the other countries where the Greek schism prevails—to Prussia and the other Protestant kingdoms of the Continent—to England, admittedly and avowedly from the Reformation to the Revolution—and to other countries, “too numerous to be mentioned.”

It further belongs to that class of political heresies, which, by vesting all the civil, and especially all the educational patronage of a state in the hands of one person, enable him to form the whole nation pliant as wax to his purposes. Thus in all those countries which we have mentioned in an earlier part of this paper, notwithstanding all their learning, light, and so forth, they never dreamed of recovering their liberty, merely because their rulers, being the sole sources of all educational and other civil patronage, so corrupted all those whose duty, amusement, or trade it was to contribute to the instruction of the people, that they inculcated those doctrines only which suited the interests of their patrons. What else could be the result? Make all the instructors of a nation depend for their bread and other worldly interests on the pleasure of one man, and his pleasure must be “the law and gospel” of that nation ere many years pass away. Thus did James I understand the Protestant constitution. On being told by his English courtiers at his accession, that he could make the judges and bishops, he exclaimed with great glee—“Then, God wawns, I mak what likes me, law and gospel.” But to return: those several nations would have continued to enjoy their original liberty, had they never received any light or civilization from such teachers; just as men in a state of nature continue to enjoy good health till they come under the influence of some of the contagions attendant on civilized society, or put themselves under the care of ignorant quacks, or regularly educated but corrupted physicians. For in truth, as we have fallen into a metaphor, liberty is like every other natural blessing—it is forced on our acceptance, and we cannot get rid of it but by gross abuse or some of the expedients or incidents of a vicious civilization.

From both those heresies, England before the Reformation was completely free. Over the bishops, the inferior clergy, the monasteries, and other religious houses, the schools, colleges, and universities, the king had no control or influence. From him they expected nothing. They were, with regard to him, so many independent republics—or, as philosophers have profoundly expressed it, *imperia in imperio*—abominable nuisances, we admit, in a state where a uniformity of despotism was required to be established. They taught what doctrines they deemed right, without any reference to his wishes. Their great patrons were the people—with the people they were united by all the natural and artificial ties which usually cement friendships amongst mankind; and we are not, therefore, to wonder that in their instruction of the people they were ever unswerving, fearless, and incorruptible in infusing into them those principles only which were calculated to promote their real interests. Thus, independently of the natural tendencies of the clergy in those days, their very position in the organization of society with regard to the king and the people, inevitably led them to be the advocates of the rights of the latter.

Theories, however plausible, if inconsistent with human experience, are sure to be fallacies. Look at England from the Reformation to the latter part of the last century—to the commencement of the troubles with America—and are not the views we have just propounded the plainest deductions from its history? Was there a single notion put forward during that period, except in times of anarchy and revolution, that was unacceptable to the source of all power and all patronage? and did not the Established Church produce exactly the same results as the classes of political heresies, to which it belongs, invariably produced elsewhere? So completely had its clergy become identified with hostility to popular privileges (and the remark, we regret, may be extended to the clergy of some of the Catholic countries of Europe, where the like causes produced like results) that Christianity and civil liberty were considered incompatible, and few could advocate the latter without being branded as infidels or as employing arguments hostile to the truths of Revelation. Take up any account of the people in those days, by persons making pretensions to liberal principles, and you will find them to have been sunk in the grossest ignorance, totally unacquainted with their civil rights, more devoid of any ideas of freedom than they had been ever before, utterly unqualified for self-government,

and fitted only to be slaves. And what was it that rescued them from this degraded state? The springing up of a new race of instructors, analogous to the Catholic clergy before the Reformation; like them patronised by the people, having the same interests as the people, inseparably connected with the people, and giving the people an education independent of the will of those whose interest it was to keep them in thralldom. Need we name the newspaper and periodical press? or remind our readers of the various "ingenious devices" invented by the advocates of "the Church and Constitution" to crush it, till at length it rose to that independent position in which it was able to defy all their assaults, and teach the people those elements of their rights, of which "the true Protestant Church"-men had so long and so carefully kept them in ignorance? To which then do we owe the present proud and improving aspect of society—the press, or the Thirty-nine Articles?

"Happy it were for mankind, if all travellers would, instead of characterising a people in general terms, lead us into a detail of those minute circumstances which first influenced their opinion: the genius of a country should be investigated with a kind of experimental enquiry."\* Let us apply this experimental enquiry to ancient England, and employ professional men only in each department. Ask an architect what is his opinion of the state of his profession prior to the Reformation, and he will tell you that they had then arrived at perfection, and that modern science cannot account for the construction of some of those monuments of their skill which still survive the wrecks of time and "enlightened" Vandalism. Ask an artist, and he will tell you they have never been surpassed; a trader, and he will answer that they understood, and what is much better, carried into practice, the true principles of commerce; a mitigator of the criminal code, and he will tell you his highest aim is to restore their mild and merciful system of punishment; a soldier, and he will feel proud at the recollection of their chivalry; a lawyer, and he will tell you their judges were models of perfection, their pleadings were brought to perfection, and their common law was the very "absolute perfection of reason;" a lover of liberty and justice, and he will dwell in raptures on their zeal in behalf of both, and tell you that the world cannot produce any such proof of steady rational attachment to those principles, as is

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\* Citizen of the World.

presented by their reports, digests, and statutes; a lover of the poor, and he will tell you they did more good in one year than the moderns in twenty; an antiquarian, and he will dilate on their noble, manly attachment to the ancient institutions of their country; a scholar, and he will tell you they did more for literature than all the believers in the Thirty-nine Articles the world has ever seen; a metaphysician—but we have had his opinion; a divine—do not mind him just now; in short, ask any one but a smatterer in philosophy, for he is sure to overwhelm you with a flood of rhodomontade about “the slavery of the human mind under the Papal supremacy,” “its disenthralment by the great German Reformer,” and all such sorts of rubbish.

However clear and pregnant may be the evidence in favour of the claims of antiquity, there are thousands in these kingdoms who cannot believe that any thing went right before the Reformation; or that mankind were not all slaves and fools till the Rev. Mr. Martin Luther came to their rescue; and who look upon that reverend gentleman with feelings somewhat similar to those with which Aristotle was regarded by his enthusiastic disciples during the middle ages. According to these modest gentry, Heaven had endowed man with reason, but left it to “the philosopher” to teach him the use of it. But, after the lapse of some centuries, “the philosopher” was found out, as others will be. Were we “philosophers,” we might trace a great resemblance between the Aristotelian and Lutheran systems, in the nice, subtile, but useless, quibbles with which they occupied the human mind, the absurdities into which they led their respective disciples, and their rapid decline when men began to make use of their common-sense, and look to facts and experience rather than remain any longer, like children, toying with terms. But as we are not “philosophers,” we must be satisfied with directing attention to the extraordinary resemblance between them, in the facilities which they afforded to their respective followers to pass for adepts in philosophy by the use of a few common-places. This is the great attraction of Protestantism, and the source of the delusions which pretenders of all sorts continue to propagate respecting it. It is “*so philosophical*.” With such persons “the slavery of the human mind under the Papal supremacy,” its “disenthralment and mighty impulse forward in the cause of truth, learning, liberty, and justice, by the great German Reformer,” &c. &c., are sufficient to solve all questions in ethics and politics. “All very fine,

but" where is the evidence of the slavery, the disenfranchisement, or the impulse? If unity of faith and submission, where submission was due, to one supreme ecclesiastical head, be evidence of slavery, we of course give up the contest. But where do you find greater freedom of discussion on all points, in which these essential principles were not concerned, than in the middle ages? The schoolmen have been notorious for pushing their disquisitions to the extreme verge to which they could push them, without going beyond the pale of the Church. Numbers of them, we have reason to believe, even passed the rubicon. Civil liberty has never been so forcibly, plainly, and vigorously vindicated as it was by all classes in those ages. Men would be now in dread of being ridiculed as enthusiasts, or prosecuted as incendiaries, if they put forth the doctrines which were then in every one's mouth "familiar as household words." But abandoning this ground, where, we ask again, is the evidence of the disenfranchisement and the impulse? The cry of "private judgment" was merely a decoy to seduce men from their attachment to the Catholic Church; but when a Protestant Church was established instead of it, the notion was ridiculed as an absurdity; just as a rebel adventurer holds out lures to a nation to abandon their lawful sovereign, but when he himself is enthroned will hang them for a repetition of the same conduct; or as an army encourages deserters from its enemies, but hangs those from itself. In what Protestant state, by what Protestant "Church triumphant," was the doctrine recognised? But as we are now concerned solely with the mere worldly consequences of Protestantism, we ask what temporal advantages did the human race derive from it. Did it establish civil liberty? Every continental country that embraced it, with the exception of some of the Swiss republics, lost its liberty simultaneously with, or a few years after, that embrace. Did it revive literature? Literature had been revived many years before its invention. Did it then promote literature? or public virtue? or private morality? or commerce? or the arts, sciences, or manufactures? Did it improve the administration of justice? or produce one single advantage of any kind, about which carnal-minded people care a straw? If it did, say when, where, and how. The delusions in favour of it arise principally from men comparing the present state of society with the accounts given of that immediately preceding the Reformation, without considering the gigantic strides which mankind had been making for some centuries before that event towards what is

called civilisation; the sudden check given in all countries, that strayed from the pale of the Church, to the improvement of the people; the fact that it is only very lately those countries have paid the slightest attention to any thing that would promote aught but ignorance, fanaticism, and slavery; and that in the march of real "enlightenment" they were some centuries behind those nations that clung to the darkness and abominations of Popery. Were we for a moment to assume the cap of a philosopher, we should say, looking to the actual results of Protestantism, that it was a very excellent contrivance indeed for destroying the liberty and checking the improvement of the human race, by setting them all by the ears, causing them to neglect their real temporal interests, destroying the universal sympathy which unity of faith had produced, and, instead of making them protect each other from domestic or other tyrants, inciting them to cut each others' throats and rejoice in each others' crimes and misfortunes—on account of some unintelligible differences in the metaphysical complexion of their creeds, of which not more than one in 100,000 had even a faint comprehension.

Let us test it for the present by its results in England. What did it do there for liberty? The history of the country, from the invention of Protestantism, has been little more than a history of the crusades of the "true Protestant Church,"\* its head, and its advocates, against the civil liberties of the nation. What did it do for the arts? Only destroyed them completely. What for literature? By suppressing the monasterial schools—converting the cathedral and other charitable foundations to "pious" personal uses—neglecting, or perhaps "taking too much care" of the parochial schools—letting a great part of the universities go to ruin—increasing the expense of obtaining an academical degree to a most exorbitant extent—making it penal to obtain instruction except from legally orthodox teachers—prohibiting the importation, or sale, of foreign books—establishing for the first time in English history, the censorship of the press—destroying, in Vandal fashion, all ancient manuscripts—forbidding education among the masses as a positive evil—and by a thousand ingenious devices, in the ecclesiastical department, for the promotion of ignorance, and through it a hatred

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\* See the Church of England so described, in contradistinction to the Church of Scotland, in the oath required of Prince Albert as Regent.



of the creed which "true Protestant" churchmen had not the patience and honesty to endeavour to understand, or the learning and ability to refute,—Protestantism brought England to the very lowest ebb among European nations; and if any portion of learning survived, we may say of it as of our liberty, that it survived not by the aid, but in spite, of "the true Protestant Church." What names from the Reformation to the Revolution give an indication of the mighty influence of Protestantism on the mind of England? Of the few names that appear in that long interval, how very few belong to the Established Church! Look at the Catholic states of the continent during the same period, and then summon up impudence, if you can, to talk about the marvellous consequences of the "disenthralment" and "impulse."

What did Protestantism do for the drama? Playwrights will tell you, that Shakspeare's genius was developed ere Protestantism had yet invented a patent monopoly for the mouthing of tragedies; and that this invention of Protestant prerogative is, and has been, the cause of the low state of the drama amongst us.

What did Protestantism do for agriculture? Invented new systems of tillage, and exploded the old ones? It did with a vengeance. Through the reigns of Henry VIII and his children, we read of nothing but the depopulation of the country, just the very system which "enlightened" Protestant landlords are now pursuing towards the unfortunate peasantry of Ireland. The ordinary official language of the time describes the cruel effects of this system to be such, that in places where there were formerly two hundred people living by their lawful labours, there were now only sheep and bullocks, and one or two poor shepherds, "so that the realm was thereby brought into marvellous desolation."\* In vain were acts of parliament passed, and proclamations fulminated against it; the ancient "prejudices" against oppressing the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the orphan, having been exploded by the advance of enlightenment, it was impossible to restore them to practical operation by decrees of the senate or sovereign. Elizabeth contributed considerably to this depopulating system, by prohibiting the exportation of corn, thus inducing the proprietors of lands to

\* See proclamation of Edward VI, in Campbell's "Phil. Survey," p. 291; 7 Hen. VIII, c. 1; 28 Hen. VIII, c. 13; 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 5; 2 & 3 Philip & Mary, c. 2; 5 Eliz. c. 2. This system seems to have commenced in Hen. VII's reign: see 4 Hen. VII, c. 19.

convert them from tillage to pasture.\* Perhaps all this was an improvement?

Did it improve the material condition of the masses of the people? Cobbett's *History of the Reformation* contains ample evidence on this point. The Reformers did not pretend to say, that anything more was wanting, than a supply of Gospel light; and to balance the account for so notable a benefaction, they robbed the people of all their influence in the state,—of all their worldly comforts, and innumerable "carnal" advantages, to which, in their benighted ignorance, they felt so attached, that nothing less than the sword, the gallows, martial law, and penal laws, could reconcile them to the exchange.

Did it improve trade, manufactures, and commerce? All these had been progressing most rapidly in Catholic times.† Henry VIII and Edward VI are not remarkable for their attention to this department; Mary did more for it in her very short reign, than both together; Elizabeth's reign was peculiarly ruinous to it. The free importation of foreign manufactures, destroyed those which had been fostered, with the utmost care, in the days of darkness; the long apprenticeships to the meanest trades—then introduced for the first time—were considered a great injury to them; and, above all, the monopolies granted by her "absolute majesty," of almost every article that could be bought or sold, completed the measure of Protestant devotion to manufactures, trade, and commerce. Of one of these patents Hume observes, that it was "contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects."‡ Did our commerce make such mighty strides under the two first Stuarts? Was it not after the death of Charles I that some life was infused into it? During the convulsive period of the commonwealth, it made greater progress than in all the intervening time from the death of Mary. The impulse then received, carried it on careeringly till after the revolution,§ when, by a variety of ingenious con-

\* Hume, vol. v. 514. See as to the misery of the agricultural population at that period,—Turner's *Hist. of Edw. VI, Mary, and Eliz.* 160-1-2, &c.; Brodie's *Brit. Emp. Introd.* 25-6, &c., and authorities there collected. 72,000 "rogues, great and small," were hanged in the reign of Henry VIII; and "thieves were trussed up apace," at the rate of 300 or 400 a-year, during the reign of Elizabeth, Brod. *Ib.* 41.

† See Hallam. *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. 468-9.

‡ *Hist.* vol. v. 190.

§ Anderson, after observing that England was considered by some authors to

trivances, which it would require a volume to elucidate, "the wisdom and piety of our ancestors" transferred to France the greater part of our woollen manufactures; by degrees enabled her to undersell us in every market of the world, and gave the Dutch almost a monopoly of the entire of all the other trade of Europe. Consult any work on this subject, from the revolution to the middle of the last century, and you will be struck with amazement at the wonders which Protestantism effected in this way. What connexion can Protestant ingenuity trace between our present prosperity in manufactures and commerce, and a belief in the Thirty-nine Articles? Perhaps the discoveries of Watt, Arkwright, and Fulton, are mere corollaries from these essential doctrines of true Protestantism? Is it not notorious, that of all the places in England, the manufacturing towns are those where the established Church has, or ever has had, the least possible influence? Are not her lamentations over the spiritual destitution of their benighted populations ever ringing in our ears? Does she not denounce them as the plague-spots of the empire; and has she not, this very year, modestly asked for twenty millions to endeavour to reclaim them from the hands of the ———? Are we, then, to allow her to claim to herself, and her "disenthralment," and her "impulse," the merit of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity with one breath, and with the next to denounce those engaged in both, as imps of darkness and wickedness? "The authority of a sect," says an able writer, "and much more of a state, is able to inspire, and habit to confirm the most absurd opinions. Passion or interest can create zeal; but nothing can give stability and durable uniformity to error."\* May we ask, in conclusion, have "pious Protestants" ever heard of the Venetians, the Pisans, the Genoese, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, or the Hanseatic League?

What did it do for the navy? From the earliest times England had paid great attention to her navy, as a means for securing her commerce. According to the traditional character of the king's ships, they seem to have been, among those of other nations, as "lions amongst silly beasts, or as falcons amongst fearful fowl." Are Henry VIII or Edward VI remarkable for their efforts to create, revive, or strengthen the

have been in 1688 "*at the zenith of commercial prosperity*," adds, "it must needs be acknowledged, that this same year we were arrived at a very great degree of commercial prosperity in all the before-mentioned respects." *Hist of Com.* vol. ii. p. 579.

\* Bolingbroke Dissert. p. 45.

navy? Did Mary neglect it? The Spanish armada and the other necessities and events of her time made Elizabeth attend to these traditional bulwarks of her realm. Did they flourish particularly under her two successors? Under the commonwealth, this, like many other of our ancient institutions, was restored to its pristine vigour; but after the accession of Charles II, when "the true Protestant Church" was reinstated in all its glory, was not the navy swept from the ocean in the first Dutch war, and the Thames a highway for the fleets of our enemies? James II did more for the navy than all the Protestant sovereigns who preceded him and the four who immediately followed him.\* Yet one would suppose, from the assumptions of "pious Protestants," that the navy was the offspring exclusively of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Homilies.

Did it improve the administration of justice? To this subject we may devote at another time a separate chapter; but in the meanwhile we beg of our Protestant readers to say in what precedent period of English history had all the decencies of administrative justice been so openly set at defiance, and the courts of law regarded as "little better than the caverns of murderers,"† as from the adoption of Protestantism till the commencement of its decline in the middle of the last century?

Did it raise the character of England for war or diplomacy, or any thing which makes one nation respectable in the eyes of another? Need we compare the conquerors with the pensioners of France? When, from the Conquest to the reign of Elizabeth, had any foreigner dared to hope that he could subjugate England? When, till the time of James I, had she become a by-word among the nations? In what period of her darkness had she been involved in a war with France to give a knight-errant prime-minister an opportunity of debauching a queen of that country? Was it not Cromwell

\* "Nor does it appear that the essential and lasting service which James rendered this country, in compacting, and, as it were, building up its naval power, has been sufficiently weighed. It is not generally known that the naval regulations now in force are taken almost verbatim from those which he established; or that, when lately the Board of Naval Revision wished to add to and improve the naval regulations, they sent for the papers of Pepys, the marine secretary of James, as being the best materials whence they could obtain the object they had in view." Pepys says he "raised the navy of England from the lowest state of impotence to the most advanced step towards a lasting and solid prosperity, that, all circumstances considered, this nation had ever seen it at."—Clarke's Life of James, pref. p. 26-28.

† Hallam, Cons. Hist. vol. i. p. 248.

who first restored her to her rank among the nations? Look at her, after the Revolution, thrust into every squabble on the Continent, to divert her from restoring the Stuarts ;—after two short wars groaning under a debt of fifty millions, the only contrivance her statesmen could devise for securing the allegiance of her people to *the settlement*, or peaceful submission to their oppressions—distracted at home, despised abroad—her diplomatists and ministers of all ranks the ridicule of Europe—without power to excite fear, or any one quality to excite respect—and say then if this be evidence of the “disenthralment” and “impulse.” Suppose we had been writing a century since, when she had just two hundred years’ experience of Protestantism—when, without colonies or commerce, the channel swept by the fleets of Europe, with an obsolete military and naval reputation, ere yet “the cornet of dragoons” had come to her rescue, she stood menaced with apparently inevitable ruin—could we have been conscious of the mighty advantages she derived from believing in the Thirty-nine Articles? Pitt accidentally developed qualities which were accidentally employed to save her. Her next piece of good luck was the acquisition of India. What had her Protestantism to do with this? A French soldier of fortune had previously acquired sovereignty over an immense extent of that country, while our merchants had only a few factories here and there on the coast, and were tolerated only on very abject terms. In resisting an assault on one of these factories, a merchant’s clerk suddenly exhibits high military qualities—is employed and promoted—attacks the French and Indians—overthrows the French authority, replaces it by that of England, and, in short, performs all those feats which will ever be associated with the fame of Lord Clive. What, we again ask, had the Thirty-nine Articles to do with all this? She then plunges into a war of legitimacy—which she would not have been able to support, had not the inventive genius of Watt developed new sources of industry. Thus, a cornet of dragoons, a merchant’s clerk, and a mathematical instrument maker, unexpectedly come to raise or preserve her at most critical moments; and the philosophers throw these accidents into the scale of the “disenthralment” and “impulse.” Look at her at the close of the war, and say what she had gained by it beyond restoring to a throne a man totally unfit for it, and crushing the spirits and securing the allegiance of her people with a debt of 900 millions—and whether these were objects which Protestantism may parade as evidences of the advantages it has conferred on the empire?

Did Protestantism give England an immediate pre-eminence over Catholic nations in those arts and refinements, which are commonly taken as tests of high civilization? Did it not, on the contrary, brutalize the great mass of the nation, and force all who desired to qualify themselves for decent society, to go through their noviciate on the continent—nay, in the Catholic countries of the continent? In what independent Catholic country is there one-tenth of the aggregate amount of misery, in proportion to its population, endured as in England? Does the mass of the people of England enjoy one-tenth of the sports, amusements, and pleasures of various kinds, enjoyed by the people of every independent Catholic country? In short, we ask again, what single earthly advantage has Protestantism conferred on the people of England, for which the worldly-minded care a straw?

But there is no subject on which Protestantism has of late assumed such airs, as that of civil liberty. Of the pretensions of “the true Protestant Church” we have already disposed, so far as its theories are concerned. The fact that Divine right is the doctrine of all other Protestant Churches also, ought to be conclusive on this question; but such are the prejudices in favour of the “disenthraling,” &c. influences of Protestantism, that all pretenders to philosophy—and these include all who write for the enlightenment of the public—shut their eyes to its plain palpable results, and grope away in the dark, singing of some latent virtues which they imagine it possesses, or at least ought to possess. We are told that the *free* study of the Scriptures necessarily produces a love of civil liberty. But we ask where, when, or how has it produced such results? The chances are many in favour of the doctrine of Divine right being the consequence of the Protestant mode of viewing the Protestant canon of Scripture.—The only portion of the Scriptures from which the lawfulness of resisting oppression may be clearly inferred, is the Books of the Machabees. These Protestantism struck out of its canon. Looking, then, upon the remainder of the sacred volume, and particularly looking upon it, as Protestants did, as the only rule of faith, of morals, of politics; in short, as the only guide in all the relations of life; and regarding everything not mentioned there as an abomination before the face of the Lord, how could we support those free principles and institutions which Protestantism found spread over Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and which it so speedily and zealously overthrew? From the early portion of the Old Testament the patriarchal theory of Divine



right was deduced. Throughout the whole of it you find no safeguards for civil liberty, nor even mention of the existence of such a thing;—but are continually dwelling on the various phases of oriental despotism. Then look to the New Testament. Where there do you find any exhortations to assert “the rights of man”? Take even the answer “Give unto Cæsar,” &c. &c. Here no inquiry is suggested as to whether the tax was imposed by authority of parliament; and an intimation seems to be given that Cæsar’s edict was the only guide on such subjects. Take these and a thousand other passages—you will find them all in the Homilies—put them into the hands of ignorant men as “the only rule of faith” and of politics, and ask them, “Where here do you find mention of parliament, Habeas Corpus, original contract, taxation without representation, trial by jury,” &c.? and will they not shout, with all the vehemence of pious zealots, “avaunt, ye pagan and Popish abominations”? But if, in addition to this, you paid five or six millions a year to a body of Churchmen for believing and confirming such notions, what but a miracle could save the freest nation under the face of heaven from sinking to a level with those Egyptian, Persian, Assyrian, and other slaves and sycophants, whose conduct, as recorded in the sacred volume, was to be the model for all men? We are too well aware of the harpy-like zeal, with which any observations of ours on the study of the Scriptures would be seized on by our opponents, to hazard any statement which cannot be borne out by the most unquestionable evidence; and we therefore appeal with confidence to the history of England from the Reformation to the civil wars, for proofs of the debasing and enslaving influence of Protestantism. No one, without minutely examining our history during that period, can have any conception of the rapidity with this system succeeded in changing the ancient government of England to the model of an oriental despotism; and English freemen—English gentlemen—the members of the Lords and the members of the Commons, into canting, crouching, fawning slaves. Everything was to be done after the fashion of Judea, Egypt, Persia, and Assyria; and the examples of Saul, Pharaoh, Darius, and Nebuchadnezzar, substituted for those of our Henrys and Edwards. Even in the Commons, where one would expect to see the folly and fanaticism of the mob filtered into some sort of sense and decency, not a stretch of prerogative, not an exertion of arbitrary power, not an assault on their own privileges, not a violation

of the rights of the people is brought under their notice, that you do not find fools and knaves rising to support it with passages or precedents from Scripture.\* We will by and bye give proofs, which shall stagger the most romantic philosophers.

But though it must be admitted that the knowledge thus actually derived from the study of the Scriptures, was ruinous to civil liberty, we shall be told that the throwing off of the papal yoke—the defying of an authority so venerable and ancient,—and the very excitement created by the search after new modes of salvation, gave a tone, a vigour, and an erection to the human mind, which it could never have otherwise attained, and unfitted it to bend under a civil oppressor. Had the first principle of Protestantism been worked out,—had every person been allowed to think for himself,—had every segment or district of believers been summoned together once a week, once a month, or at any other stated period, to hear and consider proposals for such amendments of their common creed, as were called for by the necessities and “growing intelligence of the times,”—had the people been even once consulted as to the choice of their faith, we should be inclined to admit some of the merits assigned to it. But see how different the romance of Protestantism is from the reality. How ennobling, how disenthraling it must have been to the people of England, to be compelled to receive the articles of their faith out of royal proclamations?† to be forced to abandon a creed endeared to them by the hallowed recollections of ages,—a creed cherished amidst every suffering by all the learned, the wise, and the worthy among them—for the varying whims of such persons as our first Reformers? To have such crudities crammed down their throats by the sword, the halter, the rack, and the various other contrivances, by which the apostles of Reform worked out their notions of the right of private judgment? Is it not wonderful that under such disenthraling influences, the people did not consume themselves into mere mental entities? But in seriousness could there be anything more degrading and debasing than the mode in which Protestantism was forced on the people of England? They had not been then callous to oppression, and their innumerable insurrections proved how deeply they felt the wrongs and indignities heaped on them.

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\* See D'Ewes' Journ. and Com. Journ. passim.

† Hallam, Con. Hist. vol. i. p. 38.

Let us turn next to the advantages conferred by Protestantism on the constitution, by the changes it effected in the material composition of the different branches of the legislature.

All Protestant writers regard the confiscation and redistribution of the lands of the monasteries as a mighty element of popular power; and even the earliest among them date the origin of the influence of the House of Commons from this source. Mr. Hallam expresses these views in the following manner: "If the participation of so many persons in the spoils of ecclesiastical property, gave stability to the new religion by pledging them to its support, it was also of no slight advantage to our civil constitution, strengthening, and as it were, infusing new blood into the territorial aristocracy, who were to withstand the enormous prerogative of the crown. For if it be true, as surely it is, that wealth is power, the distribution of so large a portion of the kingdom among the nobles and gentry, the elevation of so many new families, and the increased opulence of the more ancient, must have sensibly affected their weight in the balance."\* We really wonder how any men could so pervert their reasoning faculties, as to see in this proceeding an increase of strength to our civil constitution. Why did they not see a similar result from the transferring of the appointment of bishops to the king? The monasteries held one-fifth of the land of the entire kingdom; but through easy leases, did not probably enjoy more than one-tenth in value.† Their tenants by the bye, were remarkable for being the most comfortable and independent in the kingdom. The number of abbots and priors sitting for those monasteries in the House of Lords, was twenty-nine, who, joined to the twenty-one bishops, always formed a majority over the temporal peers.‡ Before we admit that the Reformation made an improvement in the very material of the legislature, we must enquire who those monks and bishops were, and what principles they supported. We have already shewn that they were sprung from the lower classes of the people, and that their principles were directly the reverse of those of their Protestant successors. Now we ask how much better was it for the people to have such men forming the majority of the Lords, than the creatures of the royal breath? To have one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom in the hands of

\* *Con. Hist.* vol. i. 84-5.

† *Idem.* p. 74. We here follow Mr. Hallam, to shew how obvious are the true conclusions from the facts which he himself states.

‡ *Id.* p. 79. *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 331.

their sons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and other relatives, than to have it conveyed to the favourites of the crown. To have the majority of the House of Lords taken bodily from among themselves, than to be excluded from all influence, and deprived of all their protectors, in the legislature? It was this extreme democratic complexion of that house, which, in a great measure, kept both houses on such friendly terms. Most Protestant writers express their amazement at the harmony and unanimity which prevailed between them. There was then no attempt on the part of the Lords to curtail the liberties of the Commons, or the rights of the people, or to play off any other of those fantastic tricks, which they have learned since "the dawn of enlightenment." Yet, destroying the democratic portion and character of that house, and enabling the king to swamp the ancient independent peerage of the land with his minions and parasites, was the first "advantage to our civil constitution" derived from the glorious Reformation. Charles V overthrew the power of the Castilian Cortes by excluding the lords and bishops altogether. Was not this a much more manly and honest course (making the fight between king and commons a single-handed one) than that pursued by Henry VIII?\*

But the attachment of the Reformers to civil liberty, as indicated by their confiscation of the monasteries, does not end here. Had not their own and their master's rapacity outrun their zeal for the establishment of a permanent despotism, the complete overthrow of British liberty would have been simultaneous with the overthrow of Catholicism. The grounds on which the parliament was informed that the property of the monasteries ought to be vested in the king, were, that he might be able "*to live of his own*," to defend the kingdom on any sudden invasion or insurrection, to aid his confederates, reward his well deserving servants, maintain continually a standing army of 40,000 men, and never again ask any aids or subsidies of the people.† Thus the suppression of the monasteries was intended to serve as the means for establishing a despotism, and dispensing at once with Lords and Commons. Enabling Henry to make law and religion by proclamation was only a part of the bye-play in this "disenthraling" drama.

\* How singular that the two enemies of Clement should be the first to overthrow the privileges of their people? Very strange; especially when we consider that the opponents of Popes and Popery must be necessarily "out and out" devotees of freedom.

† Co. 4 Inst. 44.

Others writers say, that our sovereigns at and after the Reformation, by assuming almost despotic authority, and crushing the power of the nobles, relieved the mass of the people from numerous oppressors, and that this was the reason why the people submitted so quietly to the royal pretensions.\* A very pretty theory, indeed, but unfortunately it merely goes directly in the teeth of all history. From the time of Henry I, the nobles and people had been continually united in opposition to the crown. Not a single instance occurs of their appearing in arms against each other. Mr. Hallam may be a fair witness on this point. He says, that in all the contentions against the crown, the clergy and people side with the nobles, and "*no individuals are so popular with the monkish annalists, who speak the language of the populace, as Simon Earl of Leicester, &c. &c., all turbulent opponents of the royal authority.*"† The Rolls of Parliament, the Statute Book, or any other of our records, give no hint of this supposed hostility of the people to the nobility. It would be strange if they did. The clergy were foremost in every movement with the lords, and their objects were, not to establish an oligarchy—a protectorate or "the kingdom of saints"—but to prevent the abuses of the royal authority, and to secure the enjoyment of liberty, equality, and justice, on the broadest and plainest foundations. This mode, therefore, of accounting for the rise of despotic tendencies at the Reformation, is very ingenious, and would do well for a romance.

Other writers admit the laws for the security of life and liberty to have been as perfect in *ancient* times as they are now; remind their readers that our present superior security is far less owing to positive law, than to the control which is exercised over government by public opinion through the general use of printing, and to the diffusion of liberal principles through the same means‡—insinuate and assert that there was no real protection under those laws for private persons against the crown,§ as judges and juries were bribed or intimidated—and that the contrast was great between the law as laid down in the statutes and other authorities, and its practice in the courts of justice, which rendered them, "in cases of treason, little better than the caverns of murderers;"|| but when you come to examine the instances adduced as proofs of the correctness of this description, you find them all,

\* See Brodie—Introd.

† Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 374.

‡ *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 367.

§ *Const. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 252.

|| *Ibid.* p. 45; 248-249.

without a single exception, to have occurred since the Reformation.\* Most modern writers seem to consider themselves bound never to stop short at the Reformation for the origin of any abuse, but to deduce it by all means from a remote antiquity. The practice is very attractive; it gives scope to the imagination—saves the trouble of research—throws an air of philosophical profundity and erudition over shallowness and ignorance—and, which is best of all, coincides with the general tendency of Protestantism to indulge in all sorts of presumptions against Popery and the people. When such a literary giant as Hallam falls without consideration into the train of thought pursued by men with whom such temptations have influence, what can we expect from any other Protestant writer? If there were, before the Reformation, so little real security for life or liberty, why are we not presented with catalogues of excessive fines, long imprisonments, cruel punishments, executions without legal trial, laws made by proclamation, and those various other symptoms of despotism wherewith England has been blessed since the invention of Protestantism? Why should the character of a nation, more than of individuals, be sacrificed on loose, vague, unsupported verbiage?

If any one will consider the position of our kings for the two centuries prior to the Reformation, they will see that, whatever might have been their tendencies to despotism, they had not the appliances necessary to carry their wishes into execution. They had no standing army,† or police. Their revenues were not sufficient for their ordinary expenses. During the reign of Edward III the Commons established on a secure basis the principle of giving subsidies for a year or two only, so as to render frequent sessions necessary. Henry V was the first who got a grant of a permanent revenue for life. At the close of Henry VI's reign, the ordinary revenue had dwindled to 5,000*l.* a year, while his debts had risen to 372,000*l.*‡ In that reign the Commons declare 4,000*l.* a-year a sufficient allowance for the king's "livelihood," and complain that the actual expenditure exceeded

\* See Const. Hist. *supra*; also Index to State Trials, *Jury*, and instances there referred to. The proceedings against the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Serope, and against Sir John Mortimer, have been objected to by Hume as irregular, but even Mr. Hallam answers his objections, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 367. See also p. 410 as to cases of the landlord of the *crown*, and the proprietor of the stag killed by Edward IV.

† Henry VII first established a band of fifty archers to wait on him, but soon dismissed them in consequence of the expense. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 50.

‡ Lingard, vol. v. p. 170.



that sum by 19,000*l*.\* Henry VII was the first, since the accession of Henry III, who lived within his income.† The amount of their patronage was exceedingly limited. Over the appointment of all persons employed in the administration of justice the parliament exercised so vigilant a control, that the appointments could scarcely be said to rest with the king. The same may be observed of the various officers employed in the executive government. They could not interfere with the administration of justice,‡ levy taxes, enrol soldiers, dispense with or swamp the parliament, or, in short, do anything but what they were strictly authorised by law to do, and that only through a responsible officer. By what miracle, then, could they perform those feats of statesmanship by which their Protestant successors have been distinguished? But, even if they could, how does it appear that they were “enlightened” enough to have no other object of ambition than to make slaves and paupers of their subjects?

But, dismissing for the present all further preliminary considerations, let us come to the matter, to which they are (with us just now) merely subservient. To understand the constitution as it stood prior to the Reformation, it is absolutely necessary to divest the mind of all the high notions of prerogative propagated by the advocates of despotism since the glare of “gospel light” enabled mankind to discover the right divine of kingship. If we do not comply with this preliminary, all that we meet with in the Rolls of Parliament, the Year Books, the older historians and text writers, on the relative rights and duties of the crown and the people, will be looked upon only as seditious and revolutionary romance. We can never enter into its spirit, or dare to comprehend its application. But having once removed these “evangelical” delusions, and recollecting the democratical principles of government which prevailed up to the commencement of the 16th century in all the Catholic states of Europe—with the exception of France since the time of Louis XI—we find all constitutional and regular; no treason, revolution, or sedition; nothing inconsistent with the then known rights of sovereign and subject.

There are few who will now have the “pious” hardihood to assert that the king had, at the period of the Reformation, any powers but such as were conferred on him by statute,

\* Rot. Parl. 28 Hen. VI. p. 183.

† Lingard, *supra*, p. 338.

‡ See the crowd of authorities on this point in 2 Inst. 56.

or by ancient well-known usage. So strictly circumscribed were these, that he could not make a testamentary disposition of his chattels,\* nor re-enter on his own lands let to farm for non-payment of rent†, till he was authorised by parliament. In early times he was regarded in the eye of the law only as an ordinary person; he could be sued like such,‡ and his grants were construed in exactly the same manner, till a statute was passed to limit their construction.§ The prerogative which in “enlightened” times became a synonyme for arbitrary power, was then so admeasured that it could not prejudice the inheritance of any person,|| and was as much under the control of the law as the powers of a sheriff, constable, or any other officer. The House of Commons complain to Richard II of the withholding of writs of *scire facias*, to try the legality of his presentations to benefices, under the pretence of prerogative, as a great offence to God, and against law and reason; for, say they, nothing can be a prerogative of the crown, which is derogative to the execution of right and justice.¶ One of the charges against him at his deposition, was, that he frequently said “that his laws were in his own mouth, and sometimes in his own breast, and that he alone could make and change the laws of his realm.”\*\* What a pity that he was so far in advance of his age in “enlightenment.” Had he lived a few centuries later, he would be for ever immortalised in Reformed liturgies as a saint and a martyr. The parliament allow him and Henry IV†† to be as free as any of their predecessors,‡‡ and make the abuse of this favour another of the charges against him. By the coronation oath, Fortescue says, our kings were obliged “to the observance of the laws, which some of them have not been well able to digest, because thereby they are deprived of that free exercise of dominion over

\* Rot. Parl. 16 Ric. II, p. 301.

† Id. 2 Hen. IV, 460. The Commons allowed him to re-enter only when three half-year's rent should be due, and recommended that thenceforth a clause of re-entry should be inserted in all his leases.

‡ Year Book, 43 Edward III, f. 22.

§ De Prærogativa Regis.

|| Law Maxim, Co., 2 Inst. p. 63.

¶ “En grant offense de Dieu et encontre reson et ley, pur ce qe tiel fait ne poet mye estre prerogatif a nostre seigneur le Roi, q'est derogatif a l'execution de droit et justice.”—Rot. P. 13, Ric. II, 273.

\*\* “Dixit expresse vultu austero et protervo quod leges suæ erant in ore suo et aliquotiens in pectore suo, et quod ipse solus posset mutare et condere leges regni sui.”—Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. 419.

†† Id. 434; 13 Hen. IV, 658.

‡‡ “Quod posset esse adeo liber sicut aliquis progenitorum suorum extitit ante eum.”—Id. 419 supra.

their subjects in that full extensive manner as those kings that preside and govern by an absolute regal power, who in pursuance of the laws of their respective kingdoms, in particular the civil law and the aforesaid maxim,\* govern their subjects, change laws, enact new ones, inflict punishments, and impose taxes at their mere will and pleasure, and determine suits at law in such manner, when and as they think fit. For which reason your ancestors endeavoured to shake off this political frame of government, in order to exercise the same absolute regal dominion, too, over their subjects, or rather to be at their full swing to act as they list."† By the first clause of this coronation oath, the king swore "to confirm to the people of England the laws and customs granted to them by ancient kings of England, rightful men, and devout to God; and especially the laws, and customs, and franchises granted to the clergy and people by the glorious king Edward;" and by another "to keep and guard the laws and rightful customs which the Commonalty of your realm shall choose, and to defend them and strengthen them to the honour of God, according to your power."‡ This was a particularly indigestible *morceau* to our Reformed monarchs. Henry VIII metamorphosed the whole of the oath to suit his views of his new "jurisdiction and dignity royal." "He shall grant to hold the laws and approved customs of the realme, and *lawful and not prejudicial to his crown and imperial jurisdiction*, to his power to keep them, and to affirme them, which the nobles and people have made and chosen with his consent."§ By the oath of Edward VI, legislation was no longer to originate with the people, but with the crown:—"Doe you grant to make no new laws, but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good of the commonwealth, and that the same shall be made by consent of your people, as hath been accustomed?" Mary restored the old abomination. In

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\* "Quod principi placet legis habet vigorem."—That which pleases the prince has the force of law.

† De Laud. Leg. Angl. c. 34.

‡ Thus the clause stands in the coronation oaths of Edward II and Edward III:—"Sire, grantés vous a tenir et garder les leys et les coustumes droiturelles les quels la communaulte de vostre royaume *aura eslu* et les defenderer et afforcerer al honour de Dieu à vostre poare?" If the king was a man of letters—"si literatus fuerit"—the oath was in Latin, and the words *aura eslu* were rendered by *elegerit*. The advocates of Protestantism and arbitrary power pretended that this ought to be translated "have chosen." In the abridgment of the oath given in the old Abridgment of the Statutes, first printed about 1481, this part of the clause stands thus—"Que les gentes de people avera fait et eslies."—See Stat. of Realm, 5 Ed. II, note.

§ Book of Oaths.

the Book of Oaths the clause appears thus in the oaths of Charles I, Charles II, and James II:—"Will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs which the Commonalty of this your kingdom *have*, and will you defend, &c.\* At the Revolution they at length got rid of the Commonalty, the sovereign ever since merely swearing to govern the realm "according to the statutes agreed upon in parliament, and the laws and customs of the same."†

There being, however, no doubt now entertained as to the ancient limitations on the power of the crown, it is needless to pursue this part of our subject further. Let us therefore see what were the powers of Parliament in those days. Our ancient Parliaments, and especially our ancient Houses of Commons, have been long rescued from most of the misrepresentations of the advocates of "the true Protestant Church;" but the able writers who have so rescued them, have made many admissions against them without due consideration or authority, and even, in defending them, have deferred so much to the force of Protestant prejudices that, when they notice a remonstrance of the Commons against the abuse or violation of any practice or privilege, they date the origin of the practice or privilege itself from the time of the remonstrance.‡ Notwithstanding all that they have done in this cause, it still continues the fashion with most of our modern essayists to talk of the parliaments of early times as if they were as servile, as powerless, as corrupt and contemptible as those with which England was cursed for some centuries after the Reformation. We are continually told that they had no right to interfere in the management of any public business; that their sole duty was—not even to discuss the propriety of making grants of money to the sovereign—but to arrange the manner in which it was to be levied;§ that it was in the reign of Henry VII they first began to acquire power and importance, and that from that time down, they have been gradually acquiring fresh accessions to both, till at length they stand in their pre-

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\* Book of Oaths.

† 1 Wm. and M., c. vi. s. 1.

‡ Thus the Committee who prepared the Report on the dignity of a Peer. Mr. Hallam, and other writers, treat the remonstrance of the Commons against the conduct of Henry IV, *postea, et sic de similibus*.

§ Sacheverel, the last convicted champion of the Church, says, that parliaments were not ordained "to contribute any right to kings whereby they may challenge tributary aids and subsidiary helps, but for the more equal imposing and more easy exacting of that which unto kings doth appertain by natural and original law and justice as their proper inheritance, annexed to their imperial crowns from their birth."—*First Sermon*, p. 26, 7.

sent proud pre-eminence. But, instead of crowding our pages with a recapitulation of the multitudinous misrepresentations which prevail on this subject, we shall proceed at once to prove that parliament, and especially the House of Commons, exercised, prior to the Reformation, greater powers than they exercise at the present moment; that it was from the very time, from which philosophers date the rise of parliamentary power and authority, they really declined, till, in the meridian of Protestantism, parliament became a cipher; and that it is since Protestantism began to wane, parliament has been gradually recovering its former position.

Prior to the Reformation, the notion of setting any limits to the power of parliament, or to the subjects of discussion before the Lords or Commons, was never seriously entertained. The people being called together annually to consider the state of affairs touching the king and the kingdom\*—a periphrasis for their own national business—had a right to discuss every possible subject, and with the utmost latitude and freedom. Let those who adopt the notions of our Protestant sovereigns on this question, find a single authority of the Catholic days of England conveying even a hint as to any restrictions on the subjects or the mode of parliamentary discussions. From time immemorial, it had been a principle of universal application in England, that whatever concerned all or any portion of the people, should be determined by the advice of all, or that particular portion.† This is traceable through all the institutions of the state, from wardmotes, folk-motes, common councils, hundred courts, county courts, &c., up to that court in which the whole nation assembled by their delegates, to transact that business which was common to them all. Whatever, therefore, concerned the interests of the entire nation, was the proper subject of discussion in parliament; and no one, except Richard II, and his adherents, had the temerity to lay down any exceptions to the universality of their jurisdiction. The clergy, indeed—and this very exception is another proof of the unlimited extent of the jurisdiction of parliaments—were forbidden by the very writ of summons to deal with any matter in their convocations that

\* “De quibusdam arduis negotiis nos et statum regni nostri tangentibus.”—The words of the writ of summons or election.

† “Sicut lex justissima provida circumspectione stabilita hortatur et statuit ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur. Sic et innuit evidenter ut pro communibus periculis per remedia provida communiter obvietur.” Writ of summons to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the 23rd year of Edward I.

concerned the king's person, or the state of his crown or his kingdom, or his council;\* and lest they should act contrary to this inhibition, the king frequently appointed commissioners by writ to sit with them in convocation, to have cognisance of what they were about to establish, and prevent them from entering on those forbidden subjects. These were the very subjects on which parliament was commonly summoned to consult, and yet persons have been found hardy enough to assert that till the Reformation these were topics, which neither house dared to name without the express permission of the sovereign. Where are their proofs? In their own ingenious and enlightened fancies. For plain, simple people, the proofs lie all in heaps the other way. Edward II, in the beginning of his reign, granted a commission to certain persons chosen by parliament to make what laws they should deem necessary for the realm. In the fifteenth year of his reign, the laws thus made were repealed by the entire parliament as being injurious to the king's prerogatives; and it was provided "that for ever hereafter all manner of ordinances or provisions made by the subjects of our lord the king, or of his heirs, by any power or commission† whatever," concerning the royal power of the king, or against his estate or the estate of the crown, should be "of no avail or force whatever. But the matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm, shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliament by our lord the king and by the assent of the prelates, earls and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as it hath been heretofore accustomed."‡ We might rely on this statutory declaration alone, but we deem it more satisfactory to adduce distinct palpable proofs from the rolls of parliament, and other authentic sources, that there was not one earthly question which they were not enabled to discuss, and that there was not a single officer in the state, from the king to his butler, whose appointment, services, and removal, they did not control.

To commence with the latter division of the subject. The parliament deposed Edward II, and were thanked by him for

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\* See Co. 4. Inst. 322-3, and authorities there cited, &c. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 24.—M. Paris, 447.

† In all the editions of this statute, even in the authorised one, where the original is given side by side with the translation, this word is perverted to "authority." The difference is not great, but "commission" defines more distinctly what was meant.

‡ Revocation of the Ordinances. Statutes at Large.



electing his son in preference to a stranger.\* They deposed Richard II, and elected Henry IV out of the regular order of succession, and entailed the crown, as they would any other office, to him and his heirs; first in tail special,† and subsequently in tail general.‡ They tried the titles of Henry VI and the Duke of York, as they would an action of ejectment between Messrs. John Doe and Richard Roe; and finding York's the better title, declared him the next heir to the throne, allowing Henry, for the sake of peace and quietness, to enjoy it to the end of his days, and binding both to certain conditions, by the breach of which they were to forfeit the advantages derivable from the settlement.§ By a breach of these conditions Henry VI is declared to have forfeited, and Edward IV to have succeeded to, the crown.|| They declared Richard III “very undoubted king, as well by inheritance as by *lawful election*;”¶ and entailed the crown on Henry VII, who could claim no hereditary right to it, and “the heirs of his body lawfully coming.”\*\*\*

The guardian, regent, or protector of the realm, stands next in power and dignity to the sovereign. We find Henry III appointing one in 1242, by the advice of all his earls, barons, and lieges;†† the ordainers providing, in the reign of Edward II, that the king should appoint him, by “the common consent of his baronage, and that in parliament;”‡‡ the parliament in the commencement of Henry VI's reign confirming the late king's appointment of the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester to the office of protector, settling and determining their power and authority§§—expressly declaring that the king had no right to dispose by will of his sovereign power||—appointing, or confirming, or repealing the appointment of, all the protectors in that reign by the common consent of the three estates;¶¶ the Commons originating motions for the appointment of protectors,\*\*\* and on one occasion causing it to be understood that they would not proceed with any other business “till they had answer of their desire and request.”†††

\* Speed, 666. † Cotton's Exact Abridgment, p. 454. ‡ 7 Hen. IV, cap. 2.

§ See the entire proceedings in the Rolls of Parliament for that year, p. 375, &c.

|| Id. 1 Edward IV, p. 466. ¶ Id. 1 Ric. III, p. 241-242. \*\* 1 Hen. VII, c. i.

†† Rymer, t. i. p. 400, cited by Hallam, Mid. Ages, vol. ii. 184.

‡‡ 5 Ed. II, c. 9.

§§ Cotton's Ex. Abridg., 564, 568, 589, 592.

||| R. P. 6, H. VI, 326.

¶¶ Ibid. and 31-2 H. VI, 242.

\*\*\* 31 H. VI, 285-6—33 H. VI, 285, 321.

††† 31 H. VI, antea. See also as to its being “the surest way to have him made,” in Parliament, 4 Inst. 58.

Next take the subject of appointing and controlling the ministers of state, the judges, and other officers. The principle that the people should not be bound in anything without their consent first had and obtained, extended, of course, not only to the making of laws, but to the administering of them, and to the conduct of the government of the realm in every department. The notion that the appointment of judges, generals, ambassadors, and other officers—the making of peace or war, of leagues, commercial or military—and the performance of those other functions of (in modern constitutional phraseology) the executive government—should be left solely to the omniscient wisdom of kings and their favourites, had not been discovered in those “barbarous” times. The people in their simplicity imagined then that there would have been little use in their making laws unless they had some control over those who were to carry them into execution; or in being active and industrious, or cultivating commercial pursuits, if a royal favourite, in a fit of folly or knavery, could, without their consent, deprive them of the benefit of all their exertions, exclude them from the field of commercial enterprise, or involve them in wars hazarding the security of all their possessions. In illustrating the conduct of parliament on those several topics, we are compelled to go back beyond the reign of Edward III, for many reasons; of which the principal is, a desire to show that the proceedings of the Commons in that period, with which we are more immediately concerned, were not wild, revolutionary, precipitous encroachments on the executive government, but were in strict accordance with the course pursued by the great council of the kingdom from time immemorial. The highest and latest authorities on this subject thus sum up the results of their researches:—“It is manifest from various documents stated in this report, that the great council of the kingdom of England was at all times considered as *the great legislative power under the crown, and the superior counsel of the crown in the administration of the executive government*\*; that that great council was composed of persons being or representing all the landholders of the kingdom (except certain inferior immediate tenants of the crown), and representing, also, in effect, the great body of the population of the kingdom, in whose welfare they were interested, and who were, as in some degree their dependents, entitled to their protection. In this view of the

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\* The passage appears thus in *italics* in the Report.

subject, the *spirit* of the constitution of the government of England appears to have been at all times the same; for, though the form of parliament—the division of the great council into two bodies, the Lords and Commons, as now established—the attribution to the Lords of judicature, and of a distinct right as councillors of the crown, at all times, separately and collectively, and whether convened as members of a legislative assembly or not—and the attribution to the Commons of the right of originating grants to the crown, and of the right of impeachment, and the constitution of their body by election and delegation, and therefore by more obvious representations—have probably been the result of time and circumstances, yet the substance has always remained the same.\* Let us see, then, their practice in early times.

William Longchamp, chancellor and justiciary of Richard I, is deposed for many offences, after a conference in St. Paul's Cathedral between John, the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, and the citizens of London, and another chosen in his place.† In 1221, Hubert de Burgh was "made governor of the king's person, and chief justiciary of England, with the general allowance of all the states."‡ In the following year, Ralph Neville is mentioned as having been made chancellor, by the assent of the whole kingdom, and on condition that he should not be removed without the consent of the whole kingdom also.§ In 1236, Henry offers to take from him the great seal, but he refuses to deliver it, saying that he had received it from the common council of the kingdom, and that without the assent of the same he would not resign it.|| This excellent chancellor dying in 1244, the parliament assembled at London complained that for want of a

\* Rep. on Dignity of a Peer, vol. i, 467.

† "Placuit ergo Johanni fratri regis, et omnibus episcopis, et comitibus, et baronibus regni, et civibus Londoniarum, quod cancellarius ille deponeretur, et deposuerunt eum et instituerunt Rathomagensem Archiepiscopum," &c.—Hoveden, 702. The bishop of Coventry, in his account of the transaction, says—"Factoque consilio coram omni populo, totius civitatis, presentibus que justitiariis domini regis et approbantibus, *de consilio universorum* statuimus ne talis de cetero in regno Angliæ dominetur per quem ecclesia Dei ad ignominiam et populus ad inopiam erat reductus."—Id. 704.

‡ Speed, p. 579.

§ "Itaque silicet ut non deponeretur ab ejus sigilli custodia nisi totius regni ordinante consensu et consilio."—M. Paris, p. 316. We cannot help giving the following extract respecting this chancellor's character:—"Erat regis fidelissimus cancellarius, et inconcussa columna veritatis, singulis jura sua, precipue pauperibus singulis juste reddens et indilate. In multis regni perturbationibus stans directe non arundo quolibet vento agitata nec declinans ad dextram vel sinistram."—Id. 370.

|| Id. 430.

chancellor many writs had been granted contrary to justice, and therefore prayed that a chancellor and chief-justice might be appointed, as they had chosen them, by whom the estate of the realm might be settled according to custom.\* These demands not being at once conceded, they require that, to prevent the infringement of the charters and liberties of the people, four of the most discreet nobles should be chosen by *common assent* to be of the king's council, and sworn faithfully to manage the affairs of the king and kingdom, and to do justice to all without respect of persons; that they should see that the money given by all the nation should be expended for the advantage of the king and realm; and that they should not be removed except by common assent and election; also that the chief-justice and chancellor should be elected by all; that if the king should, in the interval of parliament, take the seal from the chancellor, it should be restored to him at the next session, and everything done in the meantime held null and void;† that no chief-justice or chancellor should be appointed except by the *solemn and universal assembly, and free assent of all*;‡ and that two justices of the bench, two barons of the Exchequer, and a justice of the Jews, should be appointed; and that this time "all the aforesaid officers be made and constituted by the common, universal, and free election of all; *that as they are to handle the businesses of all, so the assent of all may concur in their election.*"§ In 1248, they complain that he had not, like his predecessors, appointed, by the common council of the kingdom, a chief-justice, chancellor, and treasurer, as was becoming and expedient, but such persons as would now appear to have been very well qualified for Stuart judges.|| In 1255, they renew the demand for appointing these officers in parliament, as being

\* "Petitum fuit ut secundum quod elegerant justitiarius et cancellarius fierent per quos status regni solidaretur ut solebat."—Id. 639.

† "Quicquid fuerit interim sigillatum, initum habeatur et inane."—Id. 641.

‡ "Nullus substituitur cancellarius vel justitiarius nisi solummodo per solemnem et universalem omnium convocationem, et liberum assensum."—Id.

§ "Hac vice autem per communem universalem liberamque omnium electionem fiant, et constituantur omnes officarii prædicti; ut quemadmodum omnium negotia sint tractaturi, sicutiam, in eorum electione concurrat assensus singulorum."—Id.

|| "Calumniatur itaque dominus rex graviter à singulis et universis non medio-criter conquerentibus eo quod sicut magnifici reges prædecessores sui habuerunt, justitiarium nec cancellarium habet, nec thesaurarium, per commune consilium regni, prout decreet et expediret; sed tales qui suam qualemcunque dummodo sibi quæstuosam sequuntur voluntatem nec qui rei publicæ sed singularem quærunt promotionem, pecuniam colligendo custodias et redditus sibi primitus procurando."—Id. 744.

according to ancient custom and justice.\* At the celebrated parliament of Oxford in 1258, they compel the king to allow the chief justice, chancellor, and treasurer, to be "ordayned by public choice,"† and the twelve or twenty-four conservators of the kingdom to provide from year to year, for the due election of justices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers.‡ They elect as chief justice Hugh Bigod, whose many accomplishments Matthew Paris sums up, telling us that he, while in that office, "would by no means suffer the law of the kingdom to voullate,"§ and displace the king's treasurer and several other officers. In 1260, they make Hugh Spencer chief justice, the abbot of Burgh king's treasurer, and the bishop of Ely lord chancellor. In the following year they remove Spencer, and substitute Sir Philip Bassett, without the king's assent.|| The king this year appointing justices in Eyre without the consent of the barons, contrary to the provisions of Oxford, the people refuse to answer before them; the sheriffs appointed by him are also resisted, and the barons appoint their own sheriffs and justices.¶ The king at length removing the chancellor and chief justice appointed by them, they take up arms, and he is obliged to confirm the Oxford provisions. In 1265, the prelates, earls, and barons assemble at London, and provide, among other things, that two earls and one bishop, elected by the "communitas," should elect nine other persons, three of whom should assist the king, and that by their advice all things, both in the palace and the kingdom, should be regulated, and that nothing should be done by the king without the assent of three at least of them.\*\* To these terms they forced him to submit by the threat of electing another sovereign.†† The fortunes of Piers Gaveston, and the Spencers, are well known. In consequence of the misgovernment of the realm in the commencement of Edward II's reign, he was compelled to grant the commission to which we have already referred. The ordinances then made open with this bold and plain preamble:—"Forasmuch as by bad and deceitful counsel, our lord the king and all his subjects are dishonoured in all lands; and moreover, the crown

\* "*Exigebant insuper ut de communi consilio regni sibi justiciarum, cancellarium, et thesaurarium, eligerent sicut ab antiquo consuetum et justum.*"—Id. p. 904.

+ Daniel, p. 148.

‡ Hollingshed, p. 259.

§ "*Qui officium justitiarie strenue peragens nullatenus permittat jus regni vacillare.*"—p. 971.

|| Hollingshed, p. 263.

¶ Id.

\*\* M. Paris, p. 993.

†† M. Westm., 336.

hath been in many points abased and dismembered, and his lands of Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland on the point of being lost, if God do not give amendment; *and his realm of England upon the point of rising on account of oppressions, prises, and destructions.*"\* By these ordinances, all evil councillors and improper persons were to be removed from the offices which they held in the household and elsewhere about the king, and he was thenceforth to appoint the chancellor, chief justices, chief baron, the keepers of the privy seal and of the wardrobe, the steward of the household, the chief wardens of the ports and castles on the sea coast, the ministers for Gascony, Scotland, and Ireland, and various other officers, "by the counsel and assent of his baronage, and that in parliament." After the repeal of these ordinances, we find the practice nearly the same as before. By 15 Edward III, st. 1, c. 3 and 4, it was provided that "the chancellor, treasurer, barons, and chancellor of the exchequer, the justices of the one bench and of the other, justices assigned in the county, steward and chamberlain of the king's house, keeper of the privy seal, treasurer of the wardrobe, controller, and they that be chief deputed to abide nigh the king's son, Duke of Cornwall, shall be now sworn in this parliament, and so from henceforth at all times that they shall be put in office to keep and maintain the privileges and franchises of holy church, and the points of the great charter, and the charter of the forest, and all other statutes, without breaking any point"—that when "any of the officers aforesaid, or chief clerk of the common bench or king's bench, by death or other cause, be out of his office," the king should appoint another convenient "by the accord of the great men which shall be found nighest in the county," and "the good counsel which he shall have about him;" and that in every parliament, at the third day of the said parliament, the king shall take to his hands the offices of all the said ministers, and so they shall abide four or five days, except the offices of justices of the one place and of the other, justices assigned, barons of the exchequer; so always that they and all other ministers be put to answer to every complaint; and if default be found in any of the said ministers by complaint, or other manner, and of that he be attainted in parliament, he shall be punished by judgment of his peers, and put out of his office, and another convenient put in his

\* "It is," says Fortescue, "only lacke of harte and cowardise that kepyth the Frenchmen from rysyng ageyn their sovereyng lord."—To this theme he devotes a whole chapter, upbraiding the French with their want of "pluck" in submitting to oppression.—Absolute and Limited Monarchy, c. 13.



place. And upon the same our said sovereign lord the king shall do to be pronounced and made execution without delay, according to the judgment of the said peers in parliament."

It does not appear that there was any very great contrast between these "paper provisions" and the practice of parliament. We find the Commons recommending that certain justices should be elected by them and the Lords at that parliament, and there sworn to the execution of their duty, and that their commissions should not be sealed or used till they should be shown to and approved of by them and the Lords;\* requesting that the judges should be charged in that parliament, not to delay the common law, at the command of the kings or others†—that ten or twelve persons should be appointed to attend continually with the king's council, and that no great business should be transacted without the assent of all, and no minor business without the assent of four at least of them;‡ demanding, among other things, before taking the supplies into consideration, that all the great officers of the realm, and the household, and all those employed in the administration of the laws, should be sworn before them to the due discharge of their duties, "so that every person thenceforth should feel that right and reason was done him;"§ requesting that a mild, discreet, and able baron should be appointed tutor to the king||—that the king's council should be discharged¶—that the lord treasurer, barons of the exchequer, the judges of both benches, and other officers, should be selected from among the most sage, discreet, and able men to be found in the realm, and that commissioners should be appointed to make a thorough reform in the chancery and law courts\*\*—that, as different men were differently qualified, those should be appointed to each office who were best qualified for it, without favour or affection—that their names should be declared in parliament, and that they should not be removed without reasonable cause††—that the king should ordain in that parliament the most valiant, sage, and discreet lords of his realm to be of his council—that they and the judges should be openly sworn in parliament to acquit

\* Rot. P. 17, Ed. III, 136.

+ Id, 45 Ed. III, 308.

† Id. 50 Ed. III, 322. See also Walsingham, 197.

§ Id. 1 Ric. II, 14.

|| "In quo regni communitas petit aliquem ex baronibus ordinari ad tutelam regiam, qui sciret forensis prudenter dare responsa, &c. &c. .... Electus est ergo communi sententia dominus Thomas Beauchamp, comes Warwici ut iugiter cum rege moram traheret."—Walsing., 243.

¶ Rot. P. 3 Ric. II, 73.

\*\* Rot. P. 5 Ric. II, 101.

+† Id. 6 Ric. II, 147.

‡† Id. 11 H. IV, 623-4, 634.

themselves properly and impartially in their offices, and that he should command them in the presence of all the estates of parliament, on their faith and allegiance, to do full justice to every person without delay, notwithstanding the commands of any one to the contrary; desiring some days afterwards to know the names of the council, and—when these are named to them, and accept office on condition that before the last day of the session something should be granted to defray their charges—coming again on that day, and requiring that they should be then charged anew, and sworn without any condition;\* and succeeding in each and every of these strange requests almost as if they were matters of course. We find Sir R. Scrope resigning the chancellorship in parliament in 1380, and another appointed to it†—Scrope re-appointed in the following year, at the request of lords and commons, as being a man who for eminent knowledge and inflexible justice had not his equal in the kingdom‡—in 1383 deprived of the great seal by Richard, for refusing to put it to some inconsiderate grants, and the whole nation thereupon indignant “that the king, *contrary to the custom of the kingdom, should have captiously deposed the chancellor, whom all the nobility of the kingdom, with the suffrages of all the people, had chosen*”;§ in 1386, De la Pole degraded from the chancellorship on the prosecution of the commons;|| and lords and commons taking virtually to themselves the entire government of the kingdom by the celebrated commission of that year, and appointing the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal;¶ in 1387, several of the king’s favourites tried and condemned in parliament; in 1389, the chancellor, treasurer, and all the lords of the council, except the clerk of the privy seal, resigning their offices in parliament, and openly requiring that if any one had anything to say against them for their conduct in office, he should then complain—the commons, after diligently inquiring into the matter, thanking them heartily for their deserts—the lords also approving of their conduct—the king then restoring them to their offices, with a protestation that he wished to change his officers at pleasure—and all of them resworn “in full parliament, to act and advise well and lawfully in the offices aforesaid;”\*\*\*—in the

\* Id. 2 H. IV, 623-4, 634.

+ Walsing. 243.

‡ Id. 301.

§ “Audientes igitur non solum magnates regni sed et ipsa communitas, regem contra regni consuetudinem cancellarium deposuisse captiose, quem tota regni nobilitas cum suffragio totius vulgi delegerat, indignati sunt valde.”—Id. 312.

|| Rot. P. 10 Ric. II, 216-17, &c. ¶ See the Commission in Statutes at Large.

\*\*\* Rot. P. 13 Ric. II, 258.

first year of Henry VI, the chancellors of England and Normandy giving an account in parliament of their surrenders of their respective seals, and praying to be discharged of such surrenders;\* the Commons requesting to be informed what persons were to be appointed to the offices of chancellor, treasurer, and privy seal; the king thereupon re-appointing those whom his father had in these offices—sending some of the lords to inform the commons thereof, and in their patents declaring their appointments to be by the advice and assent of all his council present in that parliament;† and finally the commons expressing their manifold thanks for the appointments, and the mode in which they were notified to them.‡ After the Duke of Gloucester had been made protector in that session, we learn that, “at the request of the commons, and by the advice and assent of the lords aforesaid, there were named and elected certain persons of estate, as well spiritual as temporal, for councillors assistant to the government,”§ whose names were then openly read in parliament, and who accepted the office under certain conditions contained in a schedule which they presented. Of these the Commons approve, but add a clause by way of purview. To the entire the Lords then agree.|| So little was “state mystery” then known, and so fully did those officers consider themselves bound to answer for their conduct to parliament, that one of those conditions was, that the clerks of the council should be sworn to enter the names of all sitting at the transaction of any business, with an account of the way they should severally vote.¶

The appointment of the various members of the royal household, and the regulation of its expenses, seem to have been standing topics for the consideration of our early parliaments. We find the great council repeatedly requiring that suspected and unnecessary persons should be removed from the king’s court,\*\* and all foreigners driven from the kingdom,†† “except such as by a general consent should be held faithful and profitable for the same;”‡‡ the king arguing against such demands on one occasion, in a manner worthy of a more “enlightened” age, that it was lawful to every householder to appoint what persons he pleased to any office in his household; that ser-

\* Id. 1 H. VI, 171, “Quittez et deschargez de la dite deliverance.”

+ “Sciatis quod de avisamento et assensu totius consilii nostri in presenti parlamento nostro existen.”—Id.

§ Id. 175.

† Id. 172.

|| Id. 176.

¶ Id. See also Id. 2 H. VI, 201; 5 H. VI, 407; 8 H. VI, 243, &c., &c.

\*\* M. Paris, p. 641. †† Id. p. 571. ‡‡ Daniel, p. 151.

vants ought not to judge their lord, nor vassals their prince, nor restrain him with their conditions; and that therefore if he submitted to such demands, he would not be their king but their servant:\* a minister's removing the officers of the household at his pleasure and replacing them by his own creatures, who were to be spies on the king's conduct, made one of the articles of impeachment against him;† the Commons prosecuting Alice Ferrers and the other favourites of Edward III;‡ complaining in 1381, of the mismanagement of the household, and of "the outrageous number of familiars"§ in it; in consequence of their remonstrance, certain persons assigned to examine into it, the lords themselves declaring that it appeared to them "that if a reform of government was to be made in the realm, it ought to commence with the principal member, which was the king himself, and to proceed from person to person, even holy Church as well as others, and from place to place, from the highest to the lowest, sparing no person, degree, nor place;"|| and after many days' consideration, the king's confessor expelled, and a thorough reform effected in every part of the administration.¶ In 1385 they pray that the household might be examined once every year, or oftener if necessary, by the chancellor, treasurer, and clerk of the privy seal, and amended if necessary; and that the old statutes on this head should be observed. To the latter request he of course agrees, but the former he treats very cavalierly:\*\* he was however brought to his senses at the following session, and compelled to grant the well-known commission for reforming every part of the administration in the household, the courts of justice, and all quarters of the kingdom, as the price of a subsidy, the lords and commons expressly providing, that if the commissioners should be impeded in the execution of their duty, so much of the subsidy as should be then unpaid should not be exacted, and that writs should at once issue to countermand the levying of it.†† Haxey's proposal was impudent enough, to remove the great number of bishops and ladies who were living in the king's palace and at his expense.‡‡ In 1303-4, Henry IV, at the request of the

\* M. Paris, p. 749. † Rot. Parl. 4 Edw. III, p. 52. ‡ Speed, p. 706.

§ "Outrageouse nombre des familiers esteantz eu dit hostiel." Rot. Parl. 5 Ric. II, 100.

|| Ib.

¶ Id. pp. 101-2-3.

\*\* He would grant it—*quant lui plerra.* Id. 9 Ric. II, pp. 213.

†† Id. 10 Ric. II, p. 221.

‡‡ Id. 20 Ric. II, pp. 339, 406.

Commons, dismisses his confessor, and three other persons from his household, though he declares that he cannot discover what objection there was to them; and at the same time he professes his readiness to remove any other person who may be disliked by his people.\* On the same day, they request that persons of honesty, virtue, and good fame, should be placed in the royal household, and that the appointments should be notified to them and the lords in this parliament.† In the same session, at their request, the lords are charged to frame an ordinance respecting the household, which is agreed to by the king as very expedient and necessary. By one of the articles in this, all foreigners are to be removed out of the household of the king and the household of the queen, except the queen's daughters and some other persons specially named; and by another it is provided that "the royal household shall be put under such good and moderate regulations, that the expenses of it may be supported out of the revenues of the realm with other necessary charges."‡ So moderate was Henry, that he declared himself anxious for such a reform; and even as to his chamber and wardrobe, would be content with as much as would pay the debts due for them.§ We find the speaker mentioning in 1406, along with the loss of castles, towns, and provinces, the many charges occurring from day to day in the royal household, more than has been known in preceding times; "and how it is *less honourable and more costly* than it was wont to be, and there is no supply of valiant and able persons in it if they should be necessary, BUT RASCALS FOR THE GREATEST PART.||—And in 1451, requesting that several persons who had "been of misbehaving about your royal person and in other places," should be removed by act of parliament from the king's presence during the remainder of their lives. The king agreed to banish all for a year, except the lords named in the bill, and certain persons "right fewe in nombre" who had been accustomed to wait on his person, though he knew no cause why any should be removed.¶ The Commons,

\* Id. 5 Hen. IV, p. 525.

† "Y serroient nommez et faites persones honestes et vertueuses et bien renommez desqueux notice se purra faire a ditez Seigneurs et Communes en cet Parlement." Ib.

‡ Id. p. 527-8. Ib. See also 6 Ric. II, p. 147.

§ Id. See a return of the royal revenue and expenses, 11 Hen. VI, p. 433; 28 Hen. VI, p. 183.

|| "Et coment il est meyns honurable et plus de charge qe ne soloit estre et unquore y ne ad null substance de persones vaillantz et suffisantz si busoigne y serroit, mes de rascaille pur la greindre part." Id. 7 & 8 Hen. IV, p. 577.

¶ Id. 29 Hen. VI, p. 216.

on the petition of Thomas Chaucer, request that letters patent of Henry IV, granting him the office of chief butler for life, should be confirmed in parliament, which is accordingly done with all due form.\* One of the causes of summoning the parliament in 1455, was "to establish an ordinate and substantial rule for the kings honourable houshold."†

But with the army or navy, or the officers of either, the parliament could not interfere. Of course not. In 1339, we find provisions made, in full parliament, for the protection of Southampton, Berwick, the Isles of Wight and Jersey, and the different counties considered in most danger—the commanders of the fortresses appointed—the particular individuals, who were to array the counties, commissioned‡—the strength and station of the fleets determined, and the period when they should be ready for service—their admirals named—all necessary orders issued—and, in short, every thing done which would be now committed to the care of the army and navy offices.§ Thirty years afterwards, the commons make it their first request, that the castles on the coasts, and near the enemy, should be hastily surveyed, and put into a state of defence.|| In 1371, they set forth the causes by which the navy was almost destroyed, and the king promises to remedy them.¶ They complain, in 1376, that Nottingham castle is confided to a stranger.\*\* In the following year, in consequence of their request that all those captains who had lost any towns or castles, should answer in parliament before them and the lords, William Weston is tried and executed for the surrender of a castle, with the command of which he had been entrusted.†† In the same session, they (the commons) request that all those who had the command of any castles, towns, or fortresses, should give security for the proper discharge of the duty.‡‡ Two years afterwards, they request that sufficient commanders and garrisons should be placed in Berwick, Rocksburgh, and Carlisle; that all the lords who had lands in the northern

\* 1 Hen. VI, p. 178.

† Id. 33 Hen. VI, p. 279. See Edward IV's promise "to live upon my nowne," 7 Edw. IV, p. 572.

‡ See the Commons settling the clauses of the commissions of array; 5 Hen. IV, p. 526-7: and naming the commissioners; 6 Hen. IV, p. 552.

§ Id. 13 Edw. III, 105, 8, 9, 10, 11.

|| Id. 43 Edw. III, 300.

¶ Id. 50 Edw. III, 351.

\*\* Id. 45 Edw. III, 307. See a similar complaint respecting Manlyon Castle, and a request that it should be entrusted to Englishmen and other lieges; Id. 7 & 8 Hen. IV, p. 579.

†† Id. 1 Ric. II, 10, 11, 14, 17.

‡‡ Ib. 17 a.



counties, should be charged, on their allegiance, to remain there continually, and that the same course should be pursued with regard to the towns and castles belonging to the king.\* Such requests were quite common.† We find them making several demands for restraining and regulating the powers and jurisdictions of the admirals, which are complied with.‡ In 1382, the admiral of the north is appointed at their request.§ In 1383, they grant a subsidy specially for the safeguard of the coasts, with a provision, that it should be “paid to the admirals now named, in case they wished, in this present parliament, to take on them the safeguard of the said sea;”|| they make it one of the conditions for a subsidy in 1385, that the names of the chieftains in the marches of Scotland and elsewhere, and the admirals, should be declared to them, and entered on the parliament roll;¶ they make it one of the charges against the earl of Suffolk the following year, that the money thus granted had been otherwise expended, and that the sea was not guarded in the manner ordained.\*\* In 1397, they, with the other estates of parliament, are informed, that the office of admiral has been entrusted to the marquis of Dorset;†† in 1410, they request that the admiral should appoint a deputy, with sufficient force, to protect the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Cumberland;§§ and in 1442, they fix the number of ships and men necessary for the defence of the realm, name the very vessels that are to be employed, and in short make all the regulations respecting them, except that they allow the king to appoint the chief captain from among eight worthy knights and squires selected by them from the west, south, and north, and such other “as the king liketh him of the said viii. for to attende the said chief captainne.”||| We might add proofs to almost any extent of their interference with the services and appointments not only of the preceding, but of all other officers; but would it not be “extravagant excess” to adduce more?¶¶

\* Id. 3 Ric. II, pp. 81-86.

† Id. 6 Ric. II, pp. 86-146; 7 Ric. II, p. 161; 8 Ric. II, p. 200; 9 Ric. II, p. 213; 11 Ric. II, p. 251; 1 Hen. IV, p. 434; 2 Hen. IV, p. 476; 5 Hen. IV, p. 523; 6 Hen. IV, p. 552; 7 & 8 Hen. IV, p. 573; 9 Hen. IV, p. 612; &c. &c.

‡ Id. 13 Ric. II, 269; 14 Ric. II, 283; 15 Ric. II, 291; 1 Hen. IV, 472; 4 Hen. IV, 498; 2 Hen. V, 23.

§ Id. 6 Ric. II, 138.

¶ Id. 9 Ric. II, 204.

†† 21 Ric. II. 368.

||| Id. 22 Hen. VI, p. 59

¶¶ See, as to the appointment even of Justices of the Peace, Rot. P. 50 Edw. III, 333; 2 Ric. II. 66; 13 Ric. II, 269; 2 Hen. VI, 51; 5 Hen. VI, 407. As to the ancient practice of electing, in each county, the different local officers for the administration of justice, see 2 Inst. 558.

|| 7 Ric. II. 151.

\*\* 10 Ric. II, 216.

§§ Id. 11 Hen. IV. 639.

Then as to the question of peace and war, and foreign alliances. Suppose the king did proclaim war without the assent of parliament, what means had he of carrying it on? He had no fleet, no standing army; he could not impose taxes; his private revenues were not sufficient for more than his ordinary peace expenses; he could not compel his military tenants to go out of the kingdom, and no other persons could he compel to go beyond their own counties, "only for cause of necessity of sudden coming of strange enemies into the realms."\* But instead of indulging in disquisitions, let us see what the facts are. Not to go back beyond 1242, we find the barons refusing the king an aid for carrying on his wars in France, as he had undertaken them without their consent, telling him to his face that they would be no longer plundered as if they were slaves.† A few years afterwards he makes another demand; the parliament require reform; he will not grant it; he gets no subsidy, and is obliged to sell his plate and jewels.‡ At a parliament in 1255, his own brother being the first applied to, refuses to give him an aid for his expedition to Apulia, as he had undertaken it without the advice and assent of his baronage.§ Three years afterwards, he again receives a similar answer, being also told that as he had unadvisedly accepted that kingdom without their consent, he should preserve it as best he might; they would not ruin themselves for him.|| By

\* 1 Edw. III. stat. 2, c. 5: see also 4 Hen. IV. c. 13; Rot. P. 1 Edw. III, p. 8 & 11

† "Responderunt Magnates cum magna cordium amaritudine quod talia conceperat inconsultus et talia effrons impudenter postularat exagitans et depauperans fideles suos tam frequenter trahens exactiones in consequentiam quasi a servis ultimæ conditionis et tantam pecuniam toties extorsit inutiliter dispergendam. Contradixerunt igitur regem in faciem, nolentes amplius sic pecunia sua frustratorie spoliari. . . . Cæterum nimis admirantur Magnates Angliæ universi quod sine eorum consilio et assensu tam arduum tam periculosum negotium es ingressus fidem adhibens fide carentibus spretoque naturalium tuorum favore exponas te tam ancipitis fortunæ casibus."—M. Paris, 588.

‡ So deeply in debt was he about this time, even for the necessities of life (et aliis etiam vitæ necessariis), that he could scarce appear in public on account of the clamour of his creditors (vix in populo apparere potuit); and that he assured the clergy in parliament, that it was a greater charity to give pecuniary relief to him than to the beggar going from door to door; "asserens majorem eleemosynam fore sibi juvamen conferre pecuniare quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti."—Id. 651-758.

§ "Quod negotium eundi in Apuliam assumpsit sine consilio et assensu Baronagii sui, sibilis Transalpinantium fascinatus."—Id. 913.

|| "Quod nullo modo potuerunt sine eorum irrestaurabili subversione toties inaniter substantialis suas usque ad exanitionem effundere. Et si inconsulto et indecenter regnum Apuliæ ad opus Edmundi filii sui a Papa comparasset, suæ impetui simplicitati, et quod incircumspecte et absque suorum consilio nobilium præsumpsit, tanquam spretor deliberationis et prudentiæ quæ solet rerum exitus præmetiri, prout potest, ducat ad effectum qualem qualem."—Id. 965.

5 Ed. II, c. 9, it was ordained "that the king henceforth shall not go out of his realm, nor undertake deed of war against any one without the common assent of his baronage, and that in parliament; and if he do otherwise, and upon such enterpris cause to be summoned his service, such summons shall be for none." Though this was repealed with the other ordinances in the fifteenth year of that reign, the principle seems to have been established as law and custom. Even by the very words of the repealing statute, the crown was bound to consult the parliament on the subject of peace or war, for what could possibly concern more "the estate of the realm and of the people?" Usage is said to be the best interpreter of the law. Edward III undertakes the war against France by the common assent of all the parliament;\* on that ground solely asks them for aids to carry it on;† while engaged in it lays a statement of his affairs before them at the commencement of every session;‡ consults them even as to the conduct, or "array," of it;§ and will not make a treaty without their concurrence.|| He asks whether he ought to treat with the French by way of amity or marriage, according to their offer. The Commons recommend marriage, and certain lords are then appointed to treat thereon.¶ He is recommended to lead an expedition in person to Ireland,\*\* and subsequently allowed to defer it a twelvemonth, that he might be able to go to France, where he was promised that on a personal visit he should "find great friendship."†† He lays the articles of the truce in 1344 before both houses; explains the conduct of the French and other enemies; and is requested, if he should be forced to undertake an expedition against them, to prosecute it, notwithstanding the letters, prayers, or commands of the Pope, or of any one else, till he should bring the business to a conclusion one way or the other.‡‡ The assent of the Commons to the proposed treaty in 1354 was deemed of such importance that they were twice asked ex-

\* "Par commune assent de tous."—Rot. P. 13 Edw. III, 103.

† Ibid.

‡ See the rolls for every session during the war.

§ Id. 21 Edw. III, 165.

|| Roll 85; "Par cause qe ceste guerre est emprise commencee par commune assent des ditz Prelatz Grantz et communes le roi ne voleit trettee de pees faire ne pees prendre sans leur commune assent."—Id. 17 Edw. III, 136; See also 45 Edw. III, 303.

¶ Id. 5 Edw. III, 60, 1.

\*\* Ibid.

†† Cotton's Exact Abridg. p. 12; Rot. P. 6 Edw. III, 65.

‡‡ "Tan q'il est fait l'un en une manere ou en autre." Id. 18 Edw. III, 148  
See also 18 Edw. III, stat. 2, c. 1.

pressly whether they would agree to it, and a notary was ordered to draw up a public instrument to testify such assent.\* In short, the conduct of a war against some foreign enemy, the maintenance of the navy, and the defence of the realm generally by land and sea, form some of the causes for the summoning of almost every parliament that met in that and subsequent reigns, while we were engaged, or about to engage, in hostilities.†

But Mr. Hallam considers Edward III to have been guilty of "an unfair trick of policy," in saying that he undertook the war against France by "common assent," in order merely to throw the war upon parliament as their act, and to prevent any murmuring about subsidies.‡ The inference deducible from this observation is, that Edward could have involved England in a war against France without the "common assent." The men of that period seem to have been of a contrary opinion. We find Edward himself stating in a public document that he could not agree even to a truce, without consulting the parliament.§ The parliament which met in 1344 was summoned on account of "various matters touching the government and salvation of the realm of England, which could not be settled without parliament."|| These matters seem to have been the war and proposed peace. At the opening of an adjourned session in 1384, the chancellor informs both houses that the king desires their advice on the proposed

\* "Il ent ferroit instrument public." Id. 28 Edw. III, 61.

† Id. 6 Edw. III, 66; 13 Edw. III, 103, 4; 45 Edw. III, 303; 50 Edw. III, 321; 51 Edw. III, 362; 22 Edw. III, 200; 25 Edw. III, 237; 27 Edw. III, 251, 2; 28 Edw. III, 254; 29 Edw. III, 264; 42 Edw. III, 295; 47 Edw. III, 316; 1 Ric. II, 5; 2 Ric. II, 32; 6 Ric. II, 132, 134, 148; 7 Ric. II, 149, 166; 8 Ric. II, 184; 2 Hen. IV, 454; 4 Hen. IV, 485; 5 Hen. IV, 522; 13 Hen. IV, 647; 7 & 8 Hen. IV, 559 573; 2 Hen. VI, 199; 11 Hen. VI, 509; 14 Hen. VI, 481; 33 Hen. VI, 79; 7 Hen. VII, 440. See an offensive war recommended to Parliament as better than a defensive one; 7 Ric. II, 150; 7 & 8 Edw. IV, 623; and Parliament declaring war, and sending a body of troops, against the Scotch.—Walsingham, 330.

‡ Mid. Ages, vol. ii. p. 368. Dr. Lingard expresses a similar opinion, vol. iv. p. 120.

§ "Nos pro eo quod praelatis et proceribus ac magnatibus regni nostri necnon confederatis nostris, quorum interest, inconsultis dictæ trengæ tunc assentire non poteramus, Parlamentum nostrum, &c. &c., ut tam ipsorum praelatorum et procerum ac communitatum dieti regni nostri quam confederatorum nostrorum predictorum habere possemus deliberationem," &c.—Rymer, Fæd. vol. ii. par. 2, p. 1014.

|| "Par diverses busorgnes touchantes le gouvernement et la salvation du roialme d'Engleterre lesqueux ne pouvaient estre exploitez sans Parlement."—Rot. P. 18 Edw. III, 148.

treaty with "his adversary of France," to which he does not wish finally to agree without their assent and knowledge, "THOUGH HE MIGHT WELL DO SO, AS IT IS A MATTER WHICH, AS ONE MAY SUPPOSE, DOES NOT APPERTAIN IN ANY WAY TO THE RIGHT OR TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND OF ANCIENT TIMES."\* The Commons, after considering the subject, and examining the articles of the treaty which were laid before them, declare their unwillingness, in consequence of the great dangers they see on every side, to advise him one way or the other; but express their desire for peace:—"AND IT SEEMS TO THEM THAT THE KING MAY AND OUGHT TO ACT IN THIS BUSINESS AS SHALL SEEM BEST TO HIS NOBLE LORDSHIP, AS BEING A MATTER WHICH IS HIS OWN PROPER INHERITANCE, WHICH HAS DESCENDED TO HIS NOBLE PERSON BY RIGHT OF HIS ROYAL LINEAGE, AND DOES NOT AT ALL BELONG TO THE REALM, OR TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND."† They pray him, however, to act according to the advice of his council, and to excuse them from giving any other answer at present. Being again charged to say positively whether they wished for peace or for war, as a truce could not be had, they declare themselves for peace, but object to some of the conditions of the treaty. Learning afterwards that the Lords had refused to advise for peace or war, and had answered only that, "were they in the king's state‡ they would prefer peace, they declare themselves of the same opinion, and refuse to give any other answer. In 1397 they declare to the king that they had not debated about preventing him from sending ambassadors to the king of France, according to his promise, having been told that it was his intention that by this embassy *neither the Commons nor the realm would be bound or charged*. "Nevertheless, the said Commons pray and make their protest, *that since the king, of his own authority and will, has granted this expedition, they shall not be parties to it, nor to anything which may happen in consequence of it, nor be endamaged thereby, but be entirely excused therefrom.*"§ This language needs no comment. We

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\* "Combien q'il le purroit bien faire, come chose quele a ce q' homme pense n' appartient nye en rien au droit ne a la coronne d'Engleterre d'anciente."—Idem, 7 Ric. II, 166.

† "Come de chose q'est son propre heritage, q'est par droit lignage roiale descenduz a sa noble persone et noun pas appertenant al Roialme ne a la coronne d'Engleterre."—Id. 170.

‡ "S'ils fussent en l'estat du roi."—Id.

§ "Nientmoins les ditz communes prieront et firent leur protestation qe coment le Roy de sa autorite et volentee demesne avoit grantez tel riage, qe de celle

find the treaty with France, in the seventeenth year of that reign, confirmed in full parliament by King, Lords, Judges, and Commons.\* The contract with the merchants for the protection of the sea in 1406 is laid before the Commons, and as they had not time to consider it fully in parliament, in consequence of the near approach of Easter, they assign a certain number from among them to confer with the king's council and merchants respecting it.† Ten years afterwards the articles of the treaty of peace between Henry V and Sigismund, king of the Romans, are laid before the Lords and Commons, and after due and solemn deliberation had respecting them, the king, in the language of the Rolls, "the said alliances and confederations, and all the matters aforesaid, in manner and form in the said letters-patent recited, by their (the Lords' and Commons') assent and consent in the said parliament, and by the authority of the same, and that which belongs to our said lord, for him, his heirs and successors aforesaid, ratified, approved, and confirmed, and now again ratifies, approves, and confirms."‡ In 1421 a treaty of perpetual peace is agreed to between Henry and the king of France;—one of the conditions of which is, that it should not only be sworn to by both sovereigns, but approved and accepted by the three estates of their respective kingdoms.§ The French king having fulfilled this condition on his part, Henry next lays the several articles of the treaty before parliament, when the three estates, after having duly weighed and examined them, and found them praiseworthy, necessary, and useful to the subjects of both kingdoms, approve, praise, authorise, and accept them, and promise for themselves, their heirs and successors, well and faithfully to observe and fulfil them.|| It was also agreed

viage ne de nul chose q'eut purroit advenir en apres ils ne mys parties n'ent endamagiez mais ourement excusez."—Id. 20 Ric. II, 338.

\* Id. 17 Ric. II, 315.

† Id. 7 & 8 Hen. IV, 569-573.

‡ "Les ditz alliances et confederations et toutz les choses avaunditz, en maniere et fourm en les dites lettres patentz recitez, de leur commune assent et consent en le dit Parlement et par l'auctorite dicell, quantq en nostre dit souverain est, pur lui et ses heirs et successors avaunditz ratifia approva et conferma et de fait ratifie approve et conferme par yceestes."—Id. 4 Hen. V, 99.

§ "In cujus pacis tractatu inter cetera continetur quod dicta pax per dictos duos Reges jurari, et etiam per tres status utriusque regni debeat laudari acceptari et approbari."—Id. 9 Hen. V, 135.

|| "Ipsi tres status considerantes censes et reputantes dictam pacem laudabilem necessariam et utilem utrisque regnis et subditis eorum . . . approbaverunt, laudaverunt, autorizarunt et acceptarunt, et eandem se et eorum quemlibet pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus, bene et fideliter perpetuis futuris temporibus quantum ad eos et singulos eorum pertinet, observaturos et impleturos promiserunt."—Id. b.



upon between those two sovereigns, that neither should make peace with Charles the dauphin, without the assent of the three estates of England and France. We find it "ordained and advised" by the Lords and Commons in 1430-31, that "my lordes of Bedford and Gloucestr, and my Lord Cardinall, and oyer of ye kyngg's blood, and of his counseill, may trete ye pees on the king's behalf," not only with the French, but with the Spaniards, Scotch, and "any oyer."\* In 1444, the Duke of Suffolk details his conduct in the bringing about of the peace between France and England, and the king's marriage, before the Commons, "to the end it myght in tyme to come abyde in their remembrance whatsoever fell thereof;" "and hereof he desired an act to be entred in the parlement rolle." The speaker of the Commons two days afterwards, in the name of his fellows, approves of the duke's conduct, beseeches the king to receive him to his grace and favour, as having done "good, true, and faithful service to him and all this his land," and requests the Lords to join in a similar prayer. Many of the lords having complied with this request, the king thanks both Lords and Commons, and promises to comply with their prayers; and the whole transaction is "enacted and enroled of record," for the "true acquitale and discharge, perpetuell honour" of the Duke of Suffolk and his heirs for ever.† In the same session, the Lord Chancellor protests, before the King, Lords and Commons, and in the name of the Lords, that the appointment of "a day of convencion for the matere of peace" "between your most royale person and your uncle of France," was of the king's own will and motion, and not by the advice of any of the lords; and desires that they therefore should be held excused, and discharged from all connexion with it, and that this their "humble request" should be entered on the parliament roll.‡ "To advertise and ordeyn howe and when the 13,000 archers granted in the last parliament shall be employed," is one of the causes for summoning the parliament in 1455 § The treaty of peace with the Hanz merchants in 1473 appears in the parliament roll in the form of a statute, by the "advis and assent of the Lords spirituelt and temporelt, and the Comens, in this present parliament assembled, and by the auctorite of the same."|| It was one of the articles of the treaty of peace between France and England in 1492, that the treaty should be

\* Id. 9 Hen. VI, p. 371 b.

† Id. 23 Hen. VI, 73, 74.

‡ Id. 102 b.

§ Id. 33 Hen. VI, 279.

|| Id. 13 Edw. IV, 65 a, b.

ratified, approved, and confirmed by the three estates of both kingdoms, rightly and duly convoked. Its confirmation on the part of England by act of parliament, may be seen in the statutes at large—11 Hen. VII c. 65.

But we fear we have exhausted the patience of our readers; we are, however, confident that the paramount importance of a right understanding of the conduct of our ancestors, while our holy religion had full sway, in securing our constitutional freedom, will not only justify our present appeal to their indulgence, but will require a further development on an early occasion.

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ART. VI.—1. *A Year among the Circassians.* By J. A. Longworth, Esq. London: 1840.

2. *Journal of a Residence in Circassia, during the Years 1837, 1838, and 1839.* By James Stanislaus Bell. London: 1840.

SOME account of Circassia was given in one of the earlier numbers of this Journal,\* founded principally on the reports of Messrs. Spencer and Marigny. We then had occasion to observe that by Article IV of the treaty of Adrianople, concluded between the Czar and the Sultan in 1829, nearly the whole eastern coast of the Euxine was placed under the dominion of Russia. To this arrangement, however, the Circassians, who never had been conquered by Turkey, and of whose country therefore the latter had no lawful power to dispose, refused their consent. They have in consequence resisted, and hitherto with marvellous energy and success, every attempt of the emperor to reduce them under his yoke. The mountainous character of the principal districts has enabled small and resolute bands, by the mode of warfare well known in Spain under the title of Guerilla, to annihilate in detail immense expeditions sent from time to time against them; and although year after year such expeditions are renewed, it does not yet appear probable that the imperial domination can ever be permanently established in that territory.

The inhabitants who are chiefly engaged in the contest waged against Russia are the occupants of the coast from

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\* No. V. July, 1837.

Sokoumkale to Anapa. This district is entirely mountainous. The Circassian tribes who dwell in the vallies and the plains eastward of the mountains, towards the river Kuban on one side, and the river Terek on the other, having no considerable mountain ranges to defend them, were soon obliged to yield to the overwhelming forces which bore down upon them from Russia. Mr. Longworth calculates the population of the still unconquered provinces at about one million, of which he computes the adult males capable of bearing arms at 150,000. They all speak the same language, varied only by slight differences of local dialects. The religion of Mahomet very generally prevails amongst them, but it is of comparatively recent introduction. They had been previously pagans, and in some districts the system of idolatry is by no means as yet extinguished. Crosses are occasionally met with, from which it would appear that in some former age Christian missionaries had visited those regions, and had even left there favourable impressions. Mr. Spencer, Mr. Longworth, and Mr. Bell, state that those emblems of our holy faith are venerated by the natives as ancient relics of a most sacred character.

Russia is very generally looked upon by Englishmen as a power ambitious of aggrandisement, seeking not only to interfere sooner or later with our Indian dominions, but also to push its authority into the Mediterranean, to possess or to control the whole of Turkey, at least as far as Syria, and to exercise an influence, equal, if not superior to our own, in the direction of European affairs. The fortunate exertions, therefore, hitherto made by the Circassians to stay the strides of that constantly enlarging empire, have very naturally excited amongst us the warmest sympathy. It has even been alleged that communications of a demi-official character have been made to them by our government, promising assistance at some future period. It is certain that Mr. Urquhart, who visited Circassia some six or seven years ago, did give them assurances to that effect, and that, chiefly through his zeal in their cause, similar assurances have been conveyed to them by Messrs. Longworth and Bell.

We have reason to believe that our government would be happy to see that valiant people in the secure possession of their national independence; and that more than one of our diplomatists abroad, and of our under-officers at home, have uttered words of encouragement upon this subject, which have found their way to Circassia, and have contributed materially to animate the struggle for liberty still going on in that region.

But "the pear is not yet ripe." Circumstances are by no means yet in presence of each other which would justify any open declaration in favour of Circassian independence upon the part of Great Britain; and the consequence must be that all those British enthusiasts, who volunteer, with or without demi-official sanction, their services in the Circassian cause, must be contented to find, at the end of their terms of exertion, utter disavowal and no pay.

Mr. Bell and his brother (a London merchant) were the charterers of the *Vixen*, about the capture and confiscation of which by the Russian authorities so much noise was made some time ago. The history of that affair was fully detailed in the article to which we have already referred. It was a premature attempt to accelerate a crisis in the relations between England and Russia, and of course it failed.

Mr. Longworth states that he was directly recommended by Mr. Urquhart (then secretary of legation at Constantinople) to visit Circassia, and to encourage the belligerent natives in their resistance to Russia. We do not doubt this statement to be true, although Mr. Urquhart refused to give our traveller any letter of recommendation, or any written document whatever. Whether it was, *in foro conscientiæ*, justifiable on the part of Mr. Longworth, or the Messrs. Bell, to engage in agencies of this description, is a question with which it is no business of ours to meddle. Mr. Longworth is a Catholic—a gentleman of considerable ability, classical attainments, very good taste, and literary habits. He first went out to Constantinople in the suite of one of the Turkish envoys to our court, and acted for awhile as the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*. For some unexplained reason he frequently transferred his articles to the *Times*. On proceeding to Circassia (in 1837) he assumed the character of a merchant, and took with him a small cargo of lead and other articles which he thought might meet with a ready market in that country. His work is written in a very lively vein throughout, exhibiting a tendency to the romantic. His style is clear, natural, and occasionally very neat and even classically polished. Some of his descriptions of the country which he traversed, though perhaps not so full or so picturesque as those of Mr. Spencer, are well calculated to fix and reward the attention of his readers. He does not attempt to resist the impression which his adventures must sometimes make upon them, that he falls into situations rather ludicrous, if not Quixotic. With great good humour he joins in the laugh

against himself, even at the expense of the imputation that there is in his disposition more *naïveté* than a travelled man would like to acknowledge. These little traits of character will, however, by no means detract from the interest which his volumes must excite.

The work produced by Mr. Bell, who resided three years in Circassia, is cast in the shape of letters to his brother. They go very much into detail, both in political and mercantile affairs. Though much inferior to Mr. Longworth's production in point of style, in local description, and in portraiture of the characters of those persons who have acquired eminence during the contest waged against Russia, nevertheless these letters will, if we mistake not, be considered as a very valuable addition to the stock of knowledge already collected with reference to a long-neglected portion of the great human community—a portion the more deserving of our attention, inasmuch as it is considered, taking it in conjunction with the Caucasian tribes in general, as the parent-stock of the European countenance and figure.

We need not go through all the preliminary difficulties which Mr. Longworth had to contend against in preparing his little mercantile adventure to the Circassian coast. Be it sufficient to say, that after more than one hair-breadth escape from very stormy weather, he eluded the vigilance of the Russian blockading ships of war, and landed himself and his cargo safe on the coast of the small bay, or rather roadstead, of Pælaat. Thence he proceeded towards the banks of the Pchat, a small fordable river, not far to the south of the harbour of Ghelendjek, where a strong Russian garrison was then established. Having passed the river in company with some Circassians whom he had taken into his service, he directed his course westerly, until he reached a cleft in the mountains, where he soon found himself in the yard of his *konag*, or host. We shall here join him without any ceremony:—

“Our Konag Bey stood ready to receive me, and leading my horse opposite to the guest-house, assisted me to alight. He then ushered me into the house, and with his own hands relieved me of my arms, and hung them against the wall. A silken couch had been spread for me in a corner of the room, on one side of the hearth; at the head of this was a pile of cushions: with the exception of these, and a mat and cushion laid down for the Hadji, [a Mahometan pilgrim who accompanied Mr. Longworth] there was no other furniture in the room; but the walls, gleaming with the weapons of the guests, presented anything but a naked appearance. For some time, every

body remained standing but myself; after a short silence, the words of welcome were exchanged, when another pause took place. Our host then desired the principal guests to sit down, but at first on no account would he be seated himself; after repeated pressing, however, he crouched himself down at a respectful distance on the floor. I have been thus minute in detailing these ceremonies, as they mark the reception of a stranger in every house in Circassia. The room itself was of an oblong shape, eight yards by four; the walls were constructed of stakes and hurdles, plaistered on each side with a coat of light-coloured earth; the floor was of hard earth, which I observed was every now and then carefully watered and swept. The thatch above, supported by rafters in a triangular form, descended from the roof over the walls in large projecting eaves, serving in summer for verandahs. Extending from the walls almost to the middle of the room in a semicircle of about two yards in diameter, and at three or four feet from the ground, was a huge chimney; it contracted itself towards the top in the shape of a bell, and perforating it at the gable, rose a few feet above the roof.

"So spacious are these chimneys, that there is hardly one of them without a swallow's nest, where, unmolested by the fire beneath, they enliven the apartment by their constant twittering. They are made of the same materials as the walls; indeed, all manner of building, including bee-hives and water-closets, is of basket-work. It is speedily set fire to, and with the assistance of friends, who never refuse a helping hand on these occasions, almost as speedily rebuilt. With such neighbours as the Russians, it is perhaps well that architecture has made no great progress. Under such circumstances, a man feels less reluctance in deserting and firing with his own hands, if necessary, his habitation, the preservation of which, in more civilized countries, so commonly involves the sacrifice of liberty.

"After we had been some time seated, a large bowl of a beverage the Tartars call *boza* (in Circassian, *souat*), was presented to me by my host; it is a mixture of fermented millet-seed and honey, "thick and slab," and exceedingly nauseous, I thought, though drinking it out of complaisance to my entertainer, who watched me closely to see that I did not flinch, and during the evening renewed the charge, bowl in hand, at least a dozen times. Dinner, or, more properly speaking, supper, which constitutes their chief meal, was served after sunset. It consisted of a service of dishes, moved one after the other, on round three-legged tables, about the size of a joint-stool. A sheep having been slaughtered for us, the mutton was served on a thick layer of millet-cake, instead of a dish; being moist and soft, it is easily moulded into the requisite form—that is, with a deep trench in the centre, containing the sauce, or condiment, defended by a circular mound, itself invested on the outside by substantial pieces of mutton or beef.

"The Hadji and myself commenced the attack on these fortifications, having been provided for the purpose with small knives by the



Circassians, who, by-the-bye, always wear these, in addition to their daggers, in their girdles. The latter are never used at meals, the former being for the double purpose of carving their victuals and shaving their polls. After meat came the broth, served up in a wooden bowl, or rather a reservoir, of formidable dimensions; its surface frozen over like the Arctic Ocean, not with ice, however, but grease; but, by inserting, in imitation of my Hadji, the spoon (and, *par parenthèse*, I must protest in the name of my friends against the statement put forth, that they ever insert their hands) with a dexterous jerk into the liquid below, I found I could convey it to my mouth in a tolerable state of purity. The ensuing courses were, for the most part, composed of pastry, *caïmac*, or cream, cheese-cakes, forced meat in vine leaves, and finally a large bowl of yoghurt, or curdled milk, which last, like the pilaff in Turkey, invariably crowns the repast. I was at first surprised to see no vegetables on the table, but I afterwards learned that, although abounding in the country in every variety, the Circassians seldom or never eat them.

"A native of this country dining with Scodra Pasha, in Albania, and declining to eat the vegetables which the Turks, odd to say, are as fond of as the Circassians are averse to them, and which, in successive dishes, formed, on this occasion, the staple of the dinner, was pressed repeatedly by the latter to partake of them. He at length told the Pasha, with much *naïveté*, that none but beasts dine on greens in Circassia.

"During the course of our meal, observing that the Hadji handed to the bye-standers and assistants lumps of meat and pieces of pastry, in compliance with the custom, I shewed myself, at the expense of my host, equally generous. On receiving these scraps, the favoured individual retired with great modesty into a corner, and, turning his back to the company, devoured them in secret. As every table was removed, it was taken to our servants, and after they had been satisfied, passed to a crowd of hungry expectants out of doors. About three hours after sunset, additional beds and coverlets were brought in for me and my domestics, which, on being spread, covered every part of the floor. I ought to mention that my counterpane was of brocaded silk, and that the whole was the manufacture of Turkey."—vol. i. pp. 42-47.

Mr. Longworth was at once set down by his host, and the crowds who soon assembled to give him welcome, as no less a person than a cousin of the king of England; and the merchandise with which his vessel was laden, they had already, in imagination, distributed amongst themselves, in the shape of presents from that sovereign. He could not induce them to believe that he was a mere trader, and that he had no disposition whatever to part with any of his property, unless in the way of barter for such produce as they could give him in return. The Hadji, unfortunately (with a view partly to the

exaltation of his own position, partly to get the property into his own possession, for he was a thorough rogue) favoured their more magnificent expectations, and at every attempt of Mr. Longworth to explain the real state of the case, gave a shrug of his shoulders and a wink of his eye, as much as to say, "don't believe a word of it."

It is scarcely necessary to inform our fair readers, that the young women in Circassia are considered as mere articles of merchandize for the markets of Constantinople. They are usually secluded in harems, after the Turkish fashion; and when they are spoken of by their parents or relatives, they are described like cattle, as so many hands high, and, by reason of their figure and beauty, as of such or such a value—on the average, ten times the value of a fat ox. They never sit in the presence of a man, even though he were a servant in the family, without his especial permission. The flowing locks of a Circassian maiden hang from beneath a skull-cap of scarlet cloth, according to the Albanian mode, in a profusion of tresses over her shoulders. The cap is trimmed, crossed with broad silver lace. They all wear bodices of blue silk, decorated in front with silver studs; a girdle, fastened rather low by large silver clasps; a petticoat of striped or flowered silk, extending to the ankle, over loose Turkish trousers, from beneath which peep out a pair of white and delicate feet, naked when in the house—when without it, entrusted to the care of ornamented pattens, or morocco slippers. The elderly dames usually wear a white veil, exactly as our nuns do, and a pelisse, or rather wrapper, of checked calico, which serves to conceal the whole figure. The distinction between the dresses of the matron and the maid is intended to show that the latter is for sale.

The Hadji's roguish insinuations soon brought customers enough to his Majesty's cousin. He was literally besieged by "postulants" of every degree. He did, in fact, bring with him a trunk filled with various articles, such as pistols, swords, watches, gunpowder, which he intended as presents for men, and for the ladies, cases of needles, work-boxes, ornaments and chains of Paris metal. But this said trunk turned out a box of Pandora, such were the disappointments of those who received no presents, and the comparisons made between those which were distributed amongst the rival chieftains. The number of present-beggars seems inexhaustible and insatiable in Circassia. Our friend's host was at first modest, even to shyness, with reference to this subject. He soon, however, intimated,

through the Hadji, a "longing" for the traveller's telescope, the very article with which the latter was of all things the most reluctant to part. "I desired the hadji," says Mr. Longworth, "to tell him that he should have it when I left the country, but that in the meantime I had occasion for it myself in my travels. In answer to this he suggested, that as he intended to accompany me in all my peregrinations, he would carry it for me. I consented to this arrangement, and he accordingly attended me on my route for three days, at the end of which time he begged I would give him a pistol, which being flatly refused to him, he immediately disappeared with the telescope. It is needless to add, that though I now saw clearly through the one, I was never destined to see through the other again!"

Our author displays his happy powers of description in the narrative of his journey to Adhencum, on the Kuban, where he expected to find Mr. Bell. A portion of his course lay along the banks of the Uyderbey. The hills on either side were densely covered (it was the month of May), producing every variety of tree in brilliant foliage, and broken here and there into most picturesque confusion—"now closing with their leafy honours so near the stream, that the latter, 'thick as those that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa,' 'high over-arched embower'—and now separating, as they gradually retreat, range on range, into the distant sky." All this species of scenery has, moreover, the practical value of offering a truly formidable barrier to the progress of any kind of troops which Russia may be disposed to send into that region.

"Before us, at the feet of these mountains, which sank into them in long sweeping ridges and ravines, were the plains of the Kuban. These were bounded in their turn by that river, describing, as it received their tributary streams, a grand semi-circle from north to west. Stretching beyond this, and finally lost in the haze of distance, were the interminable steppes of Russia. Nor, if we turned in the direction we had come, was the prospect less attractive: there, almost parallel with those on which we stood, rose another range of mountains, with a crowd of lesser and thickly wooded hills, rolled on one another like a sea, between which, and through the breaks of the further chain, were caught glimpses of the dark-blue element, and the solitary cruiser gliding thereon, and haunting the coast like some grim spectre.

"But my feelings, while standing upon this commanding position, and surveying the wild and impracticable country beneath, were not confined to admiration: they partook of the proud and conscious security which creates and confirms the independent spirit of the mountaineer. I could not conceive how any body who saw it as I did then,

could dream of the conquest of such a country, and I could have wished at that moment to have had by my side the Russian general, to have enjoyed the despair which I believed such a prospect must have inspired him with, and to have asked him by what plan of operations, in this inextricable confusion, this chaos of hill and valley, river and forest, he proposed to reduce it. If he dispersed his troops, they were sure to be cut off in detail by an armed population, possessing the advantage of local information; if his columns advanced *en masse*, all they could do was to wander through some solitary defiles, harassed on every side by the fire of an invisible foe, and compelled at length, by the want of provisions, to retreat. I was at once convinced, and remain so to this day, and that from a view of the lower range of mountains alone, and of course the conclusion would be strengthened by a visit to the primary ones, that the only chance of their subjugation was in the connexion of their inhabitants with those of the plains."—vol. i. pp. 8-23.

Meanwhile, a Russian fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of war, and a steamer full of troops, infantry and cavalry, numbering at least ten thousand men, had put into Ghelendjek; and Williammenoff, at the head of an equally imposing force, had crossed the Kuban, his object apparently being to combine his movements with those of the legion which had descended on the coast. The adverse parties had already come to blows. Reports from the scene of war were pouring in from all sides. Stragglers from the battle dropped in one after another, bringing accounts of the slaughter of some of their favourite chieftains, and of the glorious feats of others. The most disagreeable rumour of all was, that the enemy had at this time brought with them bands of colonists. "The dirty infidels," exclaimed the Hadji, "are coming upon us pell-mell—their selves, their families, and their pigs! Allah! Allah! Allah!" The actual sounds of the battle now began to be heard. The Hadji, who had hitherto so bravely led the party advancing towards Adhencum, dropped into the rear, fearfully peering about him lest he should come within range of the grapeshot. Amidst the pauses in the roar of the musketry and volleys of the artillery, was heard the scattered, quick-dropping, and irregular fire from the rifles of the Circassians, so galling, and often so fatal, to the invading host. Mingled with these might occasionally be heard the faint hurrah of one party, answered by the shrill, wild war-whoop of the other. The conflict arose in the pass of Nicolai, through which Williammenoff was then fighting his way to Ghelendjek.

The Adhencum is a mountain stream which empties itself into the Kuban, and at the same time lends its name to the

cottages along its banks. It was fixed upon as the rendezvous for the elders, and the more youthful defenders of their country, with the view to deliberate in general assembly upon the present state of their affairs. Mr. Longworth's escort was increased, as he approached the council-field, and already numbered 300, of whom the greater part were in fighting order. They looked a gallant company, sitting their horses with an erect and martial bearing, each man having his rifle slung behind him, his shirt of mail now and then gleaming from beneath his open-breasted tunic. Even the literary bosom of our author glowed with the enthusiasm of the hour, the Circassian standard having been unfurled, and waving in front of the cortège. As they approached the Adhencum, a body of their countrymen, headed by Haoud Oglu Mansour Bey, came out to meet them. This chieftain was considered as the "foremost man in Circassia," having derived his eminence solely from his sagacity and bravery, and a natural eloquence, which enabled him to wield the fierce democracy of the mountains. The young men on both sides, to whom the appropriate name of Dely Canus (wild-bloods, or mad-caps) was given, rushed forward with quick short yells to meet each other, discharging, meantime, in the air, rifles and pistols, and encountering, in mimic fight, horse to horse and man to man.

The council-chamber was a magnificent grove of oaks, cleared from underwood. Beneath the massive shade were seated on the green turf groups of elders, apparently engaged in earnest discussion. Mr. Longworth, however, passed on to the guest house in which Mr. Bell was lodged, or rather enthroned: for, *volens volens*, he was already nominated provisional king of the country. The latter very freely admitted his countryman to a seat upon his throne; no enviable honour it was, inasmuch as they soon discovered that, instead of directing their own movements, they were, in fact, very closely watched and guarded, during their sojourn in the country; and that all their proceedings were regulated for them by the chieftains, who, under the forms of respect and homage, took good care to rule their "whereabouts." National jealousy, evil reports, spread most probably through the agency of Russian emissaries, and a rather limited supply (considering the number of would-be receivers) of presents, appear to have acted injuriously with regard to our travellers in the very commencement of their joint reign, and to have determined them upon the expediency of abdication at the earliest favourable moment. They were indeed consulted as to the most

effectual mode of resisting the march of the Russians,—a question upon which a merchant and a literary tourist were unfortunately little skilled to give advice. Such opinions as they did venture to express, appear to have been treated with no very great respect. As the presents rapidly vanished, the “government” rapidly sank in public esteem. “Of what use,” it was asked, “*was* a government, unless to make presents?” and when the *utile* could no longer make its appearance, the pageantry of dominion soon displayed the fatal step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Mr. Longworth in his simplicity does all but let it clearly out, that he, and his co-king, were literally laughed at by the sly natives, who formed the intermediate orders between the elders and the dely-canus.

The interview between the two provisional regents and their grand council, exhibited many points of drollery. They were placed in the midst of the circle of the elders, beyond which was a crowd of warriors, some on the rising ground, some perched in the trees. One of the first questions was,—what degree of assistance England was prepared to afford them against the Muscovites, who, as they saw, had again invaded their provinces, and seemed bent on destroying them if they could? To this plain question, unhappily, their majesties could give no direct answer. They talked grandly about the *Vixen* affair, which they said was in progress, and to the results of which they looked forward as pregnant with great events. It was no slight addition to their embarrassments, that the royal interpreter “was far too great an original himself, to confine his genius to simple translation.” Their revelations, scanty as they were, “he would interlard as he went on with sundry inventions and embellishments of his own.” “He was,” says Mr. Longworth: “one of those voluble, impudent, and facetious orators who are such favourites in popular assemblies; and as he stood before us, leaning on his staff, forcibly reminded me of the chaplain of the outlaws in the haunts of merry Sherwood.”

The *Vixen* answer, however, made no impression on the Circassian Withenagemote, or Memleket, as it is called in the native language. Something more explicit was demanded to fulfil those hopes which their predecessor on the provisional throne (Mr. Urquhart), had excited. “Do not deceive us,” they cried: “do not repay with guile our confidence; let us have the simple truth; falsehood, we know, may be made to resemble it; nay, so near may it approach the truth, that there shall not be the breadth of my two fingers (said the



orator, suiting the action to the word between them ; yet shall they be as distinct from one another as light from darkness." This was rather a home thrust ! The interrogatory was one to which neither the mercantile nor the literary regent could give a satisfactory reply ; but in lieu thereof, the latter offered, in order to prove his sincerity in their cause, to buckle on his armour, and forthwith proceed to the battle. To this, Mr. Bell added a message of "rather mysterious import, with which he said he was charged to them from Lord Ponsonby. His lordship had desired him to inform the Circassians that they would shortly receive a communication from him, which he doubted not would prove highly satisfactory to them. He had told Mr. Bell at the same time, that he regretted he had not heard of his intended voyage sooner, as in that case he might himself have been the bearer of this communication." This answer seemed to produce just as much satisfaction, as the "Vixen" response. As to the Englishman going to fight for them, that was an offer they could not think of accepting. He was their guest, whom it was their duty to protect from molestation, instead of allowing him to expose his precious person upon the field of war. The debate, in short, took altogether a very gloomy aspect, until the regents, having, in a *sotto voce*, already settled between themselves, the pounds shillings and pence part of the matter, offered to the assembly a donation of two or three tons of lead. The announcement produced "a momentary murmur of applause." One of the leading members returned thanks in terms, which our author justly describes as rather singular. "They were greatly obliged by this seasonable gift of lead ;—some barrels of gunpowder, by way of accompaniment, would have made it much more so ; yet they were very grateful for what they had received." In short, the congress was much disappointed in finding that no great benefit after all was to be expected from the presence of the two Englishmen.

With reference to the character of this national council, it appears to be generally conducted with a degree of decorum, from which the chambers of more "civilized" nations might take a useful lesson. The members, on all sides, steadily discountenance any tendency to tumult ; they greatly prefer the persuasive to the wrangling style. Any body who chooses, may attend the meeting, and speak, and vote ; but it is seldom that any person, under the age of forty, or undistinguished by a sprinkling of some few grey hairs on his head, to mark the maturity of his wisdom, attempts to take a decided part in

the deliberations of this compound executive and legislative institution. Should a Sibthorpe, or a D'Israeli, intrude his thoughts upon them, they do not, as other assemblies do, bellow and crow against him; they quietly rise in a body, and adjourning to another part of the grove, leave him, like the "last rose of summer," "blooming alone," and breathing "his sweetness in the desert air!" They seldom decide by a mere majority,—they debate day after day with exemplary patience, until unanimity is attained; and if this be found impracticable, they allow the question to stand over.

To show the very questionable mode in which the Circassians have been dealt with by some of the "volunteers" to whom we have alluded, we may here mention an incident which Mr. Longworth, in the simplicity that belongs to his character, details for the amusement of his readers. It may be recollected, that some few years ago a periodical publication, called the *Portfolio*, was set on foot by Mr. Urquhart, to the earlier numbers of which he attracted a good deal of public attention, by disclosing through its pages translations of several dispatches marked "secret," which had been addressed by the Count Pozzo di Borgo to his government. Added to these dispatches were dissertations upon a variety of subjects, written by the editor; and amongst the latter was a plan for the pacification of Circassia, by allowing them to declare their independence upon condition of their retiring within the line of the Kuban, and ceding to Russia all their territory beyond that river. Numbers of this journal, covered with fine blue glazed wrappers, containing the title in gilt letters, were transmitted to Circassia; and the scheme of pacification to which we have referred having been loosely translated into the native tongue, the sanguine people assumed from its tenor that this was a proposal made by their English patrons to Russia, and already agreed upon between the two governments. The next step to be taken was to transmit this grand convention to General Williammenoff, with a view to announce to him that it would meet with the entire sanction of the Circassian provinces, and that they would act upon it.

When it came to be inquired into how this document found entrance within their territory, nobody could tell. But there was *Portfolio* on the wrapper, and so it was decided that a British general officer, named "Portfolio," was the bearer of the treaty; and although nobody had actually seen this envoy, yet the rumour was credited, and in his name heralds took the paper to the Russian commander, who, of course, laughed at it.

But no laughing matter, if we may believe the statement before us, was his reply, which was couched in language so impious, and at the same time so impolitic, that, notwithstanding all Mr. Longworth's assurances, we can scarcely believe it to be authentic.

"What is it you look for? Are you not aware that if the heavens should fall, Russia could prop them with her bayonets? . . . . If you desire peace, you must be convinced that there are but two powers in existence—God in heaven, and the Emperor upon earth! . . . . Travellers from Russia must have food and lodging, and be treated with the same consideration as your chiefs. . . . We must be allowed to go wherever we please, erect forts wherever we please, and be supplied with all labourers and materials we may deem necessary. . . . Otherwise your valleys shall be destroyed with fire and sword, and your mountains trampled into dust! Yield, and you may retain your property; if not, all you possess, even your arms, shall be taken from you, and yourselves made slaves."

We confess, that however tyrannical the conduct of the Russians may have been towards the Circassians, we are much inclined to suspect that this document proceeded from the same laboratory as the alleged convention itself.

We cannot take our leave of the Congress without introducing our readers to some of its leading members:—

"Before we take leave of the council, the reader will, perhaps, think it worth his while to be more particularly introduced to some of its leading members. I have myself a melancholy pleasure in re-convoking, by the aid of memory, the bold and venerable forms, the impersonations of prowess and wisdom, then gathered in peaceful conclave; but many of which, in the vicissitudes of an exterminating warfare, can even now only exist in the songs of their minstrels. Another generation, and they will have faded even from these. In a land of sages, heroes, and patriots (where valour still relies on the might of a single arm), fame has too many recent claims on her attention, to busy herself with the sayings and doings of past ages. There are three qualities, as I was informed by old Osmah, my *djeraah*, or squire, that entitle a man to celebrity here—bravery, eloquence, and hospitality; or, as he expressed it, 'a sharp sword, a sweet tongue, or forty tables.'

"Of Haoud Oglou Mansour Bey, I have already spoken; so popular had he become that I have frequently heard him styled king of the country—a facetious piece of hyperbole, itself proving they had no fear of his becoming so in reality.

"After him, the next in public estimation was Kheri Oglou Shamiz Bey; his praises were in the mouth of every body, and, what the politic chieftain cared more for, his counsels; his agency was rather felt than seen, and of himself I saw little for a month

after my arrival; when he was pointed out to me, I beheld an old man of meek yet dignified demeanour, with a long white beard, tall, spare, and erect. His life had been spent in war and adventure, he having commenced his career at the siege of Ismael, subsequently fought against the French in Egypt, and signalised himself in the wars that had lasted so many years against Russia in the Cabardas. In short, he was scored all over with cuts and scratches, tokens of many a fray, that but for such remembrances would have been long since forgotten. But though to us the Circassian Nestor may seem to have dwelt somewhat too much on past campaigns, and too little on the present, his countrymen, to whom the personal experience of such a man is what books of travels and history are to us, appeared never tired of listening to him. Another quality for which he was much admired was, his perfect command of a temper naturally ungovernable.

"On my expressing my surprise one day to a Circassian, at the equanimity he had shewn under strong provocation and very trying circumstances, he replied: 'The breast of Shamiz is a capacious one; how much is there suppressed that others have no conception of!' To violence or insult he would generally retort with quiet sarcasm, or a dry *frek-ee* (very well)! But there had been occasions when the reckless vehemence of his disposition had displayed itself with a startling and splendid effect; when, for instance, in defence of a client, he drew his sword on the Pasha of Anapa. This was at a time when the Turks, whom Russia now asserts to have been masters of the country, had each of them his protector, or Konag Bey, among the Circassians, being even in their own fortress merely considered by them in the light of musafirs or guests. One of these, especially protected by Shamiz, being about to be put to death by the Pasha, the chivalrous old ouzden, happening to be in the town, and deeming his honour involved in his immediate rescue, strode into the Selamlık, placed himself before the prisoner, and, unsheathing his yataghan, told the Pasha and his astonished myrmidons to touch him at their peril. In this trait we may perceive, perhaps, more to admire than to censure; but there are others I could mention in which he seems to have acted under far less creditable impulses—those of pride and revenge; passions which a strong intellect had taught him rather to dissemble than subdue. It was in this respect that he differed from Mansour; and though his calm and chastened demeanour, the stoicism and dissimulation superinduced by habit, might command respect, as consonant with the ideas of his countrymen, they could not make him beloved like the native candour and noble simplicity of the former. Yet was there neither rivalry nor ill-will between them; for while Mansour cheerfully yielded to the old man the outward deference which his years entitled him to, the other, with equal tact and good-sense, subscribed to his real ascendancy; and both, by their mutual concessions, upheld the consequence and character of their tribe, that of the Chipakous; since the expulsion of the Abbats, not less paramount in Shapsook than Natukvitch.

"In this illustrious tribe, composed of six or seven families at the most, were also included Mehemet Indar Oglou, and Hadji Ali, the judge. To these we may add Arshan Ghazi, a brave and distinguished warrior, in the prime of life, not less remarkable, however, for his modesty than bravery; indeed, his extreme bashfulness, contrasted with a manly countenance, chest and shoulders of a Hercules, and what we had heard from those who had seen him put forth his might in battle, cleaving his way through the Russian ranks like a Rustan, was rather prepossessing than otherwise. He was evidently a man of action, and but an indifferent talker.

"Among the most influential of the individuals who attended this assembly, was also Kheriah Oglou Ali Bey, of the tribe of Kutsuk, a man who not only challenged respect by his bodily attributes, being tall, gaunt, and sinewy as a giant, but who, by his native sturdiness of character, qualified by a ceremonious and plausible address, contrived to have a good deal of his own way in the country. Few cared to offend a man of his inches and determination; and his neighbours, particularly the Armenians, invariably complied with the polite requests which, from time to time, agreeably to the customs of the country, he preferred to them for cattle or merchandise.

"From the names I have already cited, it will be seen that the principal personages in this province were, at the epoch I am alluding to, nearly all nobles. There were some commoners, however, who by their personal influence supported the credit of their order. There was Dayik Oglou Shupash, about as favourable a specimen of the Circassian Tocav, or yeoman, as could be met with—a true patriot, a hearty and hospitable host, hardy in his habits, courteous in his manners, and scrupulously neat in his dress and accoutrements; nor was this care confined to the completeness and disposition of his own paraphernalia, but also, as became a thorough-bred Tocav, visibly displayed itself in the equipment and excellent condition of his horse. In the depth of winter, as at midsummer, we have experienced from him the same cordial welcome, rousing his establishment, and, though a septuagenarian, bestirring himself in the snow to attend to our comforts. His close attention to all the forms, habits, and observances, which it is the object of education under an Ataluk to instil, rendered him a model to all the Dely Kanns in the country; while his gallantry, cheerfulness, and youthful disposition, made him their especial favourite. It rarely happened that he found himself in any company of cavaliers, that all of them, by tacit consent, did not recognise him as their leader; and when, the year before last, the Russians, in one of their inroads, had burnt his house, and captured his cattle, he was more than indemnified for the loss he had sustained by the officious zeal and voluntary contributions of his friends.

"Another of the Commoners, much looked up to in Natukvitch, was Khas Demir. For Circassia, he was a man of considerable substance; that is to say, he had three or four thousand sheep, two or three hundred head of cattle, and some dozen of slaves. He had,

also, a reputation for wisdom ; and although we might not allow his rigid manners and solemn aspect to be conclusive proofs of it, his countrymen had, no doubt, their reasons for this opinion. To his hospitality, though somewhat ostentatious, we can willingly bear witness. He was truly, as Osman would have characterised him, 'a man of forty tables.'

"Lastly, I must not omit, in this enumeration of the notables of Natukvitch, our amiable friend, Tchorook Oglou. It is true, his sleek, rosy cheeks, benevolent looks, and somewhat portly person, which the tightest compression of his belt could hardly reduce to orthodox dimensions, rather announced the boon-companion than the well-seasoned warrior, but his liberality, firmness, and good-sense, which in more peaceful times and countries would have elevated him considerably in the scale of society, were even here tolerably appreciated. His pursuits, however, though mercantile (he being the wealthiest merchant in Circassia), did not prevent the good man being armed to the teeth, and taking the field like the rest."—pp. 165-172.

Mr. Longworth's readers will be deeply interested by the observations which he has made upon the religion at present chiefly professed throughout the Circassian provinces—viz., the religion introduced into the east by Mahomet. Mr. Bell was present at religious ceremonies which were conducted much after the Pagan fashion, and with which the worship of the cross was strangely mixed with the sacrifices of goats to the Spirit of Thunder! Islamism is, however, the prevailing mode of faith, and Mr. Longworth represents it as most salutary in its effects upon the Circassians, both in a moral and political point of view. It has impressed them, he says, with a deep feeling of their responsibility to the God who has created them, and strongly awakened their attention to the hopes and fears of a hereafter. The levelling principles inculcated by Mahomet have gone far towards destroying the power once exercised by the Circassian nobles, and are rapidly undermining the administrative authority of the tribes. Its cheapness, moreover, recommends it powerfully to general adoption. It costs them nothing, as the functions of the Imaum, or Mollah, are honorary, being derived from superior learning or piety, and combined with any of the other ordinary occupations of trades or professions. There is also a great deal of its influence to be attributed to the many indisputably sound moral precepts with which the Koran is filled, borrowed from the Scriptures.

"Their faith in this palladium manifests itself in a succession of devotional practices, whose openness and frequency modern Christianity is far too lukewarm and modest to emulate. Whoever has kept company with Mussulmans must have been struck with the fact.



They perform their ablutions, spread their carpets, and address themselves to their prayers, as naturally and unreservedly as we sit down to our meals. Neither place nor persons can be an obstacle to these duties. Their conversation, too, is full of appeals to the Deity, of expressions of reliance upon His goodness, or of submission to His will. Nobody fears the imputation of cant and hypocrisy, where the prevalence of unbelief has not yet made piety appear unnatural."—vol. i. p. 202.

We, "who have kept company with Mussulmans" occasionally, can bear testimony to the entire truth of these remarks. With the true Mahometans, religion, such as the "prophet" has laid it down, does, indeed, form a real practical part of the daily business of life. Would that their example were seen and followed by our Christian communities!

In passing, we cannot avoid calling the attention of our various societies for the propagation of the faith to the Circassian tribes. The homage with which they reverence the cross; the hospitality with which they receive strangers, especially Englishmen; the superior order of intellect which they appear to possess; the advances which they have already made towards civilization; the strong religious temperament with which they seem to be endowed; and, above all, the comparatively late introduction amongst them of Islamism, continue to present them to our notice as peculiarly well prepared to receive the doctrines of the Church. They have, with few exceptions, a sacred regard for life and property. With a view to their defence against the inroads of hostile tribes, they have established amongst themselves associations, bound together by oath; the members look upon each other as brothers; and so far is this fraternal principle carried, that they do not permit intermarriage between families belonging to the same association, even though it should consist of thousands. Homicide is punished by a fine (two hundred oxen for a male, one hundred for a female), and this fine is exacted from the tribe to which the culprit belongs, so that each fraternity is responsible for the conduct of its members. Penalties are established, of a minor kind, for every other species of crime. They are not paid by the criminal, but by contributions from his association; nor are they received by the injured family, but distributed in common amongst its tribe. These confraternities would afford great facilities to the labours of missionaries properly directed. They have founded institutions, and made laws for the administration of justice, which display a very high degree of originality and good sense. The custom of

dealing with their females as slaves, buying and selling them as so many heads of cattle, must, indeed, appear to us as extremely odious ; it is, however, conducted in a manner less objectionable than a foreigner, who has not visited the country, might be induced to suppose. Mr. Longworth was obliged to encumber himself with an article of this class in the bargain which he made for his merchandize ; he admits that his position in consequence was by no means an enviable one.

Our author states, and we have reason to believe the statement to be true, that our late sovereign William IV, felt great interest in the cause of the Circassians, and frequently expressed his wish that measures should be taken to provide them with the means of establishing their independence. The intelligence, therefore, which reached them in the autumn of 1837, of the death of that monarch, was received with universal lamentation. Intelligence of the termination of the *Vixen* affair, was communicated at the same time to Mr. Bell : and as Mr. Longworth found that all the hopes of succour which he had been commissioned by Mr. Urquhart to hold out to the belligerents, were doomed to vanish into the air, he prepared with all possible speed for his departure. Those hopes indeed had been for awhile prolonged by the arrival on the coast of another Englishman, whose name is not mentioned : a person of station and fortune, who (unconnected with Mr. Urquhart), had taken out with him a small supply of gunpowder. But the Circassians finding that nothing effectual was done, or likely to be done for them, by their English visitors, began to look upon them as emissaries of the Russian government. With a view to protect themselves from the perils to which they were exposed by suspicions of this nature, they were obliged to issue a proclamation of a cheering character, in which it is admitted, that in consequence of the persuasion of some of their Circassian friends, the rhetorical flourished not a little over the borders of truth. It was in vain they had disclaimed the character in which those friends were most anxious to invest them,—of being ambassadors from England. A gay red coat with gold facings, in which Nadir Bey, (the newly-arrived Englishman) thought fit to appear, settled the matter at once, that he must be some official personage. "I am," said he, "no such thing ; I am here on nobody's account, but my own." "In this case," rejoined a Circassian, "you cannot deny that you are an ambassador on your own account," and so the difficulty was arranged. A Memleket was forthwith summoned, and as it presented features in many respects

different from that which Mr. Longworth had previously described, we give his account of it in his own words.

"The next morning I accompanied Nadir Bey to the council. He was dressed in a gay yeomanry uniform of scarlet, with green and gold facings, a novelty which produced a no slight sensation in the country. There was a vast assemblage of people on the plain of Ouwya, larger, indeed, than any I had seen since the great meeting at Adhencum, but it was, on the whole, I thought, less civilized and respectable. It is true, we had, from Abbassak, and every district of the sea-coast, chiefs, elders, and magistrates, in number fully sufficient to control by their presence the more intractable and fiery portion of the community. Yet were there many of the latter, whom, judging from their looks, it would, but for this tranquillizing influence, have not been so agreeable to deal with; for, not to mention the reprobates of Ouwya, there were a crowd of strangers, speaking a language but little understood by the Circassians themselves, and whom they scarcely looked upon as their countrymen. Among these were some who had descended from their Alpine retreats of the snowy mountains behind Soukoum Kalé;—men, wild as the regions they inhabited, and, like the beasts they rode, a small and uncouth, though a hardy and active race. They were dark-featured, with projecting jaws and black and grisly beards. Their costume, though not materially different from that of the rest, was in general much poorer, and the tunic, unconfined by a neat selvidge, and much less a trimming of silver lace, hung mostly in tatters about the wearer.

"It was easy to perceive that the habits of these gentry were somewhat roving and predatory. In passing near a glade, where the Dely Kanns were at their romps, and where their emulation prompted them as usual to the display of their personal prowess and agility, a trick or two was played off by some of the strangers, which, if not already known to the congenial spirits of Ouwya, must have greatly excited their envy and admiration. A horseman at full gallop, would snatch up an infant from the ground, muffle it in his cloak, and scamper away with a dispatch and dexterity that were truly edifying.

"The impressions, however, of a rather unfavourable nature, produced by these observations, were entirely dissipated, and gave way to others of pride and enthusiasm, as we contemplated the mighty gathering of the freemen of Circassia, now scattered from the sea to the mountains all over the plain of Ouwya,—the troops of wild horsemen scouring it in every direction,—the groups of pedestrians leaning on their staves,—the council-rings sedately seated at the foot of every spreading tree. It was altogether a grand and soul-stirring spectacle, yet one that would have affected us still more profoundly, could we have appreciated (which we were then far from doing) the spirit that animated this assembly.

"But we did justice neither to the motives that had drawn these children of the wilderness from its remotest recesses, nor to the dignity of our own position, which, it is true, was not that of the ambassadors

of any potentate or government on earth, but the representatives of the civilized part of it; in whose presence these simple people had come voluntarily forward to abjure the customs and habits which, albeit those of their forefathers, they were at length aware excluded them from the pale of that civilization. We had at this time, I repeat, though we were told that all present had sworn to renounce their feuds, and to abstain from future rapine and violence, but a very imperfect notion of these things: and it was only at a subsequent period, when presiding at the administration of the national oath at Shapsook, that we began fully to comprehend the grand social reform now in operation throughout the Caucasus.

"It will be my task, and no very easy one, considering its complication, to unravel the nature and progress of this reform hereafter. I now allude to it, that the reader may perceive how little at the time we understood our relative position, and how trivial the objects by which we were actuated, when compared with those that were fermenting in the minds and hearts of the Circassians. He will see also why we found it so difficult to understand each other, and why, *mezzo termine*, we at length came to adopting the character of ambassadors on our own account, which appeared so ridiculous to us, but was, on the contrary, so satisfactory to them. The misunderstanding was entirely about words; what they wanted was not ambassadors, but witnesses—witnesses from the civilized world, whom they sought to propitiate by a solemn abjuration of the usages that were obnoxious to it.

"When we had taken our seats on the cushions and carpets spread for us under a tree in the centre of the plain, the people formed a large circle around us, the interior of it being occupied by the most distinguished of them, who were spokesmen on the occasion.

"I recognised there one of the judges, and a young warrior chief, who had been among the delegates from Abbassak, at the great council of Adhencum. There was also present Hassan Bey of Khissa, the elder brother of the celebrated Hafouz Pasha, the Turkish visir. He had two other brothers besides, high in the Turkish service, Bahri Pasha and Ali Bey. Still the family was plebeian; and though these connexions had given him wealth, and no little weight on the part of the coast where he resided, they could not ennoble him: the poorest *ouzen* in the country would have disdained an alliance with him. But the man who is most looked up to hereabouts, is Hadji Suleiman Bey. I presume for his general worth, since for any of the three attributes which are said to entitle a man to consideration here, 'the sweet tongue, the sharp sword, or forty tables,' I am not aware that he is pre-eminently distinguished. These were the individuals with whom our conference was principally held.

"In answer to their enquiries for our credentials or firmans, we presented them with Omar's elegant effusion in Turkish, and which, having been read aloud and with much emphasis to the meeting, were received by it with a general murmur of applause; but Hassan Bey,

who seemed to pique himself on his talents as a diplomatist, then inquired if we had brought them nothing but our own proclamation; whereupon Mehmet Zazi Oglou, interfering in our behalf, demanded in his turn what more he could expect from ambassadors on their own account. This rejoinder was decisive; but Hassan, who was decidedly the leader of the opposition, and appeared to make it his especial business to cavil and to raise difficulties, next inquired if it was not the intention of one of us to remain in the south. It was not fair, he said, that all the ambassadors should be kept in the north: they had quite as good a right, he conceived, to an ambassador there as anywhere else: he therefore begged that if Nadir was determined on leaving them, at any rate I would remain in his place. Such an arrangement not at all meeting my views, I flatly refused my consent to it, and told Hassan somewhat bluntly that he might give us what names he pleased; we were our own masters, and would go where we pleased; and that it did not suit my purpose at present to remain there.

"In this resolution I was seconded by Keriack Oglou Ali Bey, who, having accompanied me from the north, with strict orders from the *Memleket* there to see me safely back again, and perceiving that it was my own wish to return, now protested warmly against any restraint being put upon my actions. The motion of Hassan was therefore overruled, and the rest of the colloquy between us was conducted in the most amicable spirit. The impression mutually produced was highly favourable; a result, however, to which Nadir could not help thinking his scarlet coat, with green and gold facings, had materially contributed. To wind up the business of the day in the usual manner, a horse—the rostrum of the Circassian forum—having been led into the midst of the assembly, was mounted by Hadji Soleiman Bey, who began, from 'ridge of steed,' a very rambling discourse to the multitude. His sole qualification was the lungs of a Stentor, since he was well prompted by the bystanders of all parties, which I suppose must have made his speech rather inconsistent. The principal topic was the reform in their own habits, which I have above alluded to. In the mean time, the dignity and decorum which characterised the demeanour of an assembly at once warlike and popular—every man standing in an attitude of respect, with his whip hanging from his folded hands—were really exemplary. We retired from it well satisfied, on the whole, with the result of the proceedings."—vol. ii. pp. 184-191.

The reform to which Mr. Longworth here alludes, he subsequently describes as one, in fact, making its way amongst all the Circassian tribes. Chieftains of influence visit them, and persuade, or compel them to take, with solemn ceremonies, an oath that they will carefully avoid commercial intercourse with the Russians, abstain from feud amongst themselves, and bend all their efforts towards the establishment of their independence. This oath, framed in terms of a most stringent

nature, appears to have been already administered amongst them very extensively, and to have produced the most salutary effects.

"As long as the Circassians cherished the least hope of assistance from England, whose diplomatic interference in their behalf they were taught to believe would suffice to expel the Russians from their territory, they deemed it superfluous to attack their fortresses. But despairing at length of foreign succour, they girded their loins, and by a simultaneous effort, swept away almost every trace of them from their coast. The yoke which Russia has been so many years labouring to rivet, has been shattered to pieces in a month. As the immediate fruits of their victories, the Circassians retain upwards of two hundred pieces of ordnance, with ammunition sufficient to serve them, they declare, for ten years to come; and, what is of still greater importance, they are in high spirits; 'Tchok Thieflendik,' they say, and believe themselves to be invincible. A powerful expedition, amounting to eighty thousand men, has, according to the last advices from Russia, been directed against them by the emperor, in order, as he declares, to punish them for their *atrocities*. The same insolent perversion of language was employed by Charles the Bold of Burgundy, towards the heroic Swiss in the fifteenth century, and in later times by Napoleon towards the Spanish patriots; but they were themselves severely punished for *their* atrocities, which the latter lived most bitterly to repent, confessing frequently it was the *Spanish ulcer* that had destroyed him. The *Circassian ulcer* seems destined to do the same for Nicholas."—vol. ii. pp. 350-351.

We regret that we have no space left for any extracts from Mr. Bell's valuable letters; we must content ourselves with recommending them to the attention of the reader who may feel any interest in becoming minutely acquainted with those parts of Circassia which Mr. Longworth was not able to visit, as well as with the mercantile capabilities of those districts. They are extremely productive of many articles which might afford them the means of carrying on a very considerable trade with England.

The two rival authors, we are happy to observe, speak of each other in the kindest terms; they appear to have lived together in Circassia like two brothers,—a result which indeed we should have expected, as from our own personal acquaintance with them, we can vouch for their being both very amiable men. Their chivalry in the Circassian cause, ought, however, in our judgment, to have been exhibited without the attacks which they have made upon Lord Palmerston. They do not make due allowance for the perplexities by which a British secretary of state is frequently involved, in conducting the vast interests of an empire such as ours. They certainly



erred against the rules of prudence in proceeding to Circassia, upon the very slender species of authority, which they appear to have received in the first instance.

Both these works, we should add, are adorned by portraits and groups of natives, sketches of sea and land scenery, encampments, and congresses. The illustrations in Mr. Bell's volumes are numerous, entirely from his own pencil, and exceedingly well done.

- ART. VII.—1. *Faust; a Tragedy*. By J. Wolfgang von Göthe. Translated into English Verse, by J. Birch, Esq., author of "Fifty-one Original Fables and Morals," "Divine Emblems," &c. Royal 8vo. London: 1839.
2. *The Faust of Göthe*. Part the First. Translated into English Rhyme, by the Hon. Robert Talbot. Second Edition. Revised and much corrected, with the German Text, in alternate pages, and additional notes. 8vo. London: 1839.
3. *Faust; a Tragedy*, in Two Parts, by Göthe; rendered into English verse. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1838.
4. *Faustus; a Dramatic Mystery; The Bride of Corinth; The First Walpurgis Night*. Translated from the German of Göthe, and illustrated with notes, by John Anster, LL.D., (of Trinity College, Dublin), Barrister at Law, 8vo. London: 1835.
5. *Faust; a Tragedy*. By J. W. Göthe. Translated into English verse, with Notes, and Preliminary Remarks, by John S. Blackie. 12mo. Edinburgh and London: 1834.
6. *Faust; a Dramatic Poem*. By Göthe. Translated into English prose; with Remarks on former Translations and Notes. By A. Hayward, Esq. 8vo. Second Edition. London: 1834.
7. *Faust; a Tragedy*. Translated from the German of Göthe. By David Lyme. 12mo. Edinburgh: 1834.
8. *Faustus; a Tragedy*. Translated from the German of Göthe. 12mo. London: 1834.
9. *Faust; a Drama*. By Göthe, with Translations from the German. By Lord Francis Leveson Gower. Second Edition. 2 vols. 12mo. London: 1824.

WE remember the time, when, to the majority of readers, the latter member of the title prefixed to these pages, even in the modified sense in which we employ it, would have

appeared little short of profanation. The daring levity of the celebrated "Prologue in Heaven," produced an outcry against the whole drama of Faust; and the medium through which it became generally known in England, contributed to deepen the prejudice with which it was regarded. The fragments of the ill-fated Shelley, and the translation of Lord Francis Egerton,—the first by sins, so to speak, of commission; the second, of omission—had an equal, though opposite effect in increasing the disrepute of this remarkable production. Shelley, far from softening or disguising, rather heightened the wanton irreverence of Mephistophiles in the Prologue; and Lord Francis Egerton, by leaving him out altogether, at once lent his countenance to the worst prejudices already existing, and mutilated what has been well called the "Dramatic Mystery," of a member which, however at variance with good taste or piety, is nevertheless, fairly translated, indispensable to the right understanding of the drama.

"The Faust," however, since it has been better known, is less harshly judged; men have learned to understand, that when Mephistophiles scoffs and sneers at virtue, he speaks but in his hereditary character—"a liar, and the father thereof;" and that, impious and irreverent as he is made, we can but regard him as a more startling impersonation of the same spirit, which, even in the all but sacred poem of Milton, is, and must be, essentially revolting and repulsive. In such a character, drawn by so bold a hand as Göthe's, it is natural that there should be some things to startle, and it may be to shock the sensitive mind. But the injury rests here. This levity may wound the feelings or revolt the taste; but there is little fear of its infecting the judgment, for it carries its own antidote in the person to whom it is attributed.

It must be acknowledged, however, that, even with these allowances, Faustus, as a whole, is far from unexceptionable. There are a few passages which, even considered with this license, are calculated to give pain to every well-ordered mind. But the privilege accorded to Milton and other adventurers in the same dangerous field, compels us to regard them as solecisms in taste, rather than impiety; and even the most rigid will acknowledge, that they are out-weighed by the numberless beauties, moral as well as poetical, with which it abounds. To these comparatively neglected beauties, we would call the attention of our readers in the present article; confining ourselves to what we have ventured to term "the sacred poetry of Faust;"—a few isolated passages, for the most part strictly sacred in the scene and circumstance, as well as

the subject. We avail ourselves of the same opportunity to consider the merits of some among the recent additions to our already numerous stock of translations of the poem. Its story is sufficiently familiar to all. But to assist the reader in estimating the merits of the rival translators, it may be necessary to say a word or two upon the *morale* of the leading characters, and especially that of Mephistopheles, the strangest creation even of Göthe's eccentric genius.

Although the volumes already written on the subject of Göthe's *Faust*, whether in the form of translation, commentary, or criticism, would form in themselves a very considerable library, it is difficult, notwithstanding, to discover as yet any remarkable diminution of the interest with which it is regarded. Mr. Hayward's ample list of German commentators might be considerably extended, even since the publication of his second edition in 1834. The disputes with regard to the meaning of the text are not, as with us, confined to individual writers. Contending schools of criticism have arrayed themselves against each other in permanent hostility: and there cannot be a more striking illustration of the universality of the enthusiasm, than the fact, unexampled save in the history of the *Divina Comedia*, that there are few cities in Germany in which it was not, even during the life of the author, made the subject of a regular course of public lectures.

Nor is this interest confined to Germany. There is scarce a language of Europe into which it has not been several times translated. Unliterary as the Swedish is generally considered, Dr. Sieglitz mentions a translation into that language. There are at least two in Italian; and we have heard of one into Latin, which must be more interesting than all the rest. The French have no less than four, by the Comte St. Aulaire, M. Stapfer, M. Gerard (a pseudonym), and M. Delacroix. The latter is said to have been read with approbation by the veteran poet himself. But unluckily, the writer having used the liberty of omitting almost at pleasure, it throws but little light upon the obscurities of the poem. We ourselves, in these countries, have been more industrious than all the rest put together; not counting repeated editions, Mr. Birch's work, which stands first on our list, is the *ninth* English translation; and of these no less than eight are poetical. Even in the commenting department we are but little behind our neighbours in Germany. Several of the translators, especially Messrs. Hayward, Anster, and Blackie, have furnished, in their ample notes, greater aids to the understanding and enjoying the text, than any, or perhaps all, of the native interpreters.

The *Faust*, notwithstanding, is viewed in a very different light in the two countries. In Germany no sense is too absurdly profound to be attached even to its most simple passages. The commentators, like the diver in the fairy tale, have plunged so deep as to stir up all the sand from the bottom; and we are satisfied, that, far from entertaining for a moment, there are few, if any, English readers, who could comprehend the bare enumeration of the conflicting opinions.\* It is some consolation for us to remember, that it was a favourite amusement of Göthe to laugh over the puzzles which his commentators created for themselves out of the most obvious words: like Monkbarns in the *Antiquary*, who out of initials commemorating "Aikin Drum's Lang Ladle," builds up his theory of the prætorium, in the classical inscription *Agricola dicavit libens libens*.

While a great deal of this discrepancy must, of course, be referred to a diversity of national taste, much also, in a work like *Faustus*, is the necessary consequence of the process of translation. We have it on the authority of the poet himself, in his conversations with Eckermann, that much of the mysterious interest which it possesses for the German mind, is attributable to the dim and misty twilight in which it is frequently involved; and which it would be impossible, if it were indeed desirable, to preserve in a translation; because each translator, avoiding the ambiguity of the text from which this arises, is led, almost unconsciously, to seize and express some one, to the exclusion of the rest, among the many meanings of which it is susceptible. Difficulties such as these are of constant occurrence. The character of Faust himself can scarcely be considered a difficult one. In its general outlines it is a favourite subject of modern poetry. With all his unwillingness to acknowledge a literary obligation, Lord Byron himself half admits, what all the world must perceive, that it is the original of his *Manfred*. Victor Hugo, in his *Claude Frollo*, is a more servile, but far less worthy, imitator; both, however, retain the leading features of the resemblance. Göthe's hero is simply one of those gifted but unhappy mortals, whose misery is the consequence of the very brilliancy of their powers; for whom the limits of humanity are too contracted, and who, grasping, in their unnatural craving after happiness, at objects which Providence has placed beyond mortal reach, draw bitterness from the very pleasures of less gifted but humbler and

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\* See a passage from the *Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung*, cited by Hayward, xxvii.-viii.

more healthful spirits. He has exhausted all the sources of intellectual enjoyment which merely human means can minister. He has drained, with still unsated lip, the last drop from the shallow cup of human learning:—

“Alas! I have explored  
Philosophy, and law, and medicine,  
And over deep divinity have pored,  
Studying with ardent and devoted zeal.  
And here I am at last, a very fool,  
With useless learning curst,  
No wiser than at first!”

He has fed his lamp for years with the choicest oil of earthly wisdom; and at the end finds nothing but the rank and noisome vapours emitted by its expiring flame! And yet, failing to deduce from all this the lesson which nature and reason would therein convey—that perfect happiness, even in the intellectual order, is not allotted to mortals—he turns aside into dark and unlawful courses, and investing himself with unholy powers, seeks to wrest from nature, as a conquest, what she has denied as a boon.

So far, Göthe's play presents little difficulty either to the reader or the translator. But Faust is not left in solitary communion with his own diseased heart: he is not, like Manfred, his own tempter. The real difficulty of the subject is, the mysterious companion assigned to this ardent and aspiring mortal: or rather the association of the two—a union as incongruous as the imagination can possibly conceive. The demon Mephistopheles is in everything the very opposite of him to whose service he attaches himself: the one an impersonation of generosity, honour, enthusiasm, and poetry; the other, in word and in act, the direct negation of them all; sneering at honour, setting truth at open mockery, and freezing up all the creations of poetic enthusiasm by the cold prosaic irony of his tone.

Mephistopheles is essentially a creation of Göthe's own mind. There is not a particle of the human about him; nor, indeed—if the conceptions of former poets be taken as the standard—is there much of the diabolical, except its falsehood. He has neither pride, nor that discontented ambition, which we are wont to associate with our idea of the character. Indeed, taking passion in its ordinary acceptation, he is altogether passionless: and in this he differs essentially from Milton's Lucifer; cynicism, malignity, and falsehood, absorbing or concealing in him the higher qualities which our poet has

assigned to his impersonation of the diabolical character. This strange association of elements, so little in accordance with pre-established notions, is precisely the sort of subject over which the dreamy taste of Germany loves to speculate; but which, as it is dark and shadowy in the extreme—in fact, almost purely *negative*—it is proportionably difficult to transfer from one language to another. Dr. Anster has well estimated the delicacy of the task:—

“Had the language given to Mephistopheles the support of passion or of metaphor, it would have been easily translated; but there is no aid of the kind. It is mere outline, wholly unshadowed. Here, it may be supposed—here, if anywhere—mere literal translation is the only style which can be adopted. There is not any room for those compensations, as they have been called, by which the translator—satisfied to lose some graceful turn of thought or dignity of expression, which he finds it difficult to preserve—endeavours to supply its place by something more suited to the genius of the language in which he is writing. Unfortunately, there is a peculiarity in the style given to Mephistopheles, which baffles all these calculations, and deprives the mere literal translation, equally with that in which more freedom is assumed, of any chance of altogether preserving the effect of the original; without going so far as to make Mephistopheles speak a different dialect from Faustus, yet, by the introduction of Swabian words, or words used in a sense different from the pure German, and at times by the use of French words, he is made to speak in a tone and accent, as it were, wholly different from Faustus; which, while it is at once caught by a reader of the original, a translator can scarcely hope for such indulgence as to give him a chance of successfully expressing. For this is undoubtedly among the difficulties which the translator must make up his account to meet. The prominent passages in an original poem will probably be read with no ungenerous or uncongenial feeling. Where Passion, or Sentiment, or Reasoning, speaks its appropriate language, sympathy and indulgence may naturally be hoped for. How different is it in a sneer or a sarcasm, one of those comments in which the turn of the eye, the tone of the voice, is all in all—which, deprive them of the body in which they exist, cease to have a continuing life?”

Further, Mephistopheles is not only a very difficult, but also a very unequal character; nor is the contrast between his manner and that of Faustus more striking than the discrepancies of his own manner under different circumstances. The juggling buffoon of Auerbach's cellar, or the director of the devilries of the Brocken scene, is a very different being from the philosophising sceptic, who, while he seems to remove, in effect but deepens, the doubts of Faustus—perplexing his reasonings while he appears to resolve them, and weaving a web of



fallacies round his bewildered mind, which, with all our knowledge of the fraud, we may often find it difficult to disentangle. The free and easy gentleman who wheedles old Martha Schwerdtlein, is very different from the accomplished, though whimsical disputant, who discusses the *summum bonum* with the doctor in the study; and there needs but slight knowledge of the original to find the difference delicately but distinctly drawn in the language assigned to him on the different occasions.

In the "quizzing scene" with the young student at entrance, as long as Mephistopheles speaks in the assumed person of Faust, he is almost utterly unintelligible to the bewildered youth; but the moment he tires of the mask, and begins "to play the devil properly again," all obscurity, both in matter and language, disappears, and the pupil declares that he perfectly comprehends his meaning. A comparison of the language put into his mouth on these two occasions, will enable the reader to understand the distinction which we would draw between the opposite moods of Göthe's devil. In the first, he is little more than a mischievous buffoon, with a spice of merry, but malicious devilry. In the second he is a refined and plausible sophist—delighting in irony rather than open ridicule—winning his point by doubt rather than denial—never for a moment without a sneer upon his lip, yet seldom relaxing into the downright laugh of scorn. For the former mood Mr. Mitchell suggests a parallel in Aristophanes. Lucian, had he been a poet, would have come near the latter;—or perhaps Juvenal, if he could forget the severe morality of his satire, without parting, at the same time, with the cold but cutting malignity, which is its leading characteristic.

We have prefixed to these pages a catalogue of the English translations of *Faust*. Many of these have been so frequently before the public already as to require little from us beyond the mere enumeration. As regards the facility of preserving, not only the substantial forms, but also the delicate and shadowy hues of the original, Mr. Hayward, in adopting the prose translation, has had the advantage of all his rivals. We shall not enter here into the question how far the advantage thus secured counterbalances the loss in spirit and fire, which the abandonment of the poetical form necessarily induces. Certainly, if there be any poet whose matter is so thoroughly poetical as to be entirely independent of form, we might say that poet is Göthe, in some of the higher scenes of *Faust*. And perhaps the failure in Mr. Hayward's case may be taken as setting

the question at rest for ever; for, in the same scenes, as read in his translation, while you cannot but admire the beauty and sublimity with which the page teems, you feel a want, even in your own despite; nor is it necessary to look back to the harmonious frame of the original, in order to be convinced that you see before you only the *disjecta membra poetæ*. As a prose translation, Mr. Hayward's, except in a few instances, is all that can be desired. His notes and illustrations contain a mass of most valuable information; but however he may have succeeded, by the fidelity and spirit of his version, in proving, as he proposes, "to a certain number of his literary friends, and through them to the public at large, that they have hitherto had nothing from which they can form any estimate of *Faust*," there needs but little study of the original to show that he has not himself—simply because his plan precludes the possibility—supplied the want which he had so ably exposed.

The earliest poetical version (we do not speak of the extracts published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1820, nor of the fragments translated by Shelley) was that of Lord Francis Egerton; which, however, omitted a very considerable and important portion of the original. His lordship's labours have already been fully canvassed, both in praise and in censure; and indeed, we fear he has been unfortunate in his critics, both favourable and unfavourable. The injudicious and indiscriminating praise, lavished upon him by the one, provoked the critical bile of the other; and afforded too tempting an opportunity for the display of ill-natured scholarship, to be easily neglected. Mr. Hayward's overstrained, as well as overheated, exposure of his lordship's defects, while it is as unfair a criticism of his work, as the extravagantly laudatory comment of *Blackwood* or the *Quarterly*, is also much more likely to be remembered. Men never fail to look at the worst side. We are sure Mr. Hayward has not raised his character as a German scholar by his strictures on Lord Francis Egerton; but we are also sure that the subsequent attempts to defend his lordship, however just they may be, have done but little to remove the unfavorable impression. We do not think so highly of his *Faust* as the writers before-mentioned; but we disagree from Mr. Hayward in many of his emendations. The work, unquestionably, has many gross defects; yet certainly not enough to warrant the use which has been made of Göthe's chance expression, "*Faustus travesti*." As a specimen of poetical talent, it possesses great merit; and as such, we place it second to one only of the rival translations.

The year 1834 produced three poetical versions, those of Messrs. Syme, Blackie, and an anonymous author, whose work is eighth upon our list.

The first, a modest and unassuming volume, possesses considerable merit, as regards general accuracy. The versification is correct and agreeable, but is very deficient in spirit, wanting the march of the stately, and the flow of the playful rhymes of the German original. The conception of the Mephistopheles especially, in which the author seems to have been afraid of giving a loose to his pen, is a very remarkable failure. Altogether, its pretensions are far inferior to those of Mr. Blackie's version. The latter contains an interesting historical introduction, and is enriched with numerous notes, especially on all matters relating to witchcraft and demonology. The translation is far more accurate than that of Lord F. Egerton; but in poetical power it is decidedly inferior. The author professes "to follow, except in a very few cases, the measure of the original, and, in so far as is possible, to echo back the tones of the Götthian harp." Unhappily, the necessities of the rhyme have left their traces in his poetry, which not unfrequently falls below the standard. It is scarcely possible to conceive how completely the effect of a noble passage is destroyed by an unhappy word introduced, as in the following couplet, because it happens to fill up the rhyme:—

"Then dost thou know the secret *tether*  
Which binds the planet-orbs together?"—

A conceit utterly without warrant in the simple original:

"Erkennest dann der Sterne Lauf?"

Examples like this, however, are of rare occurrence.

But without descending to details, which indeed our limits will not admit, we shall only briefly say, that, in our judgment, the great failure of Mr. Blackie's translation is his Mephistopheles. He has failed from a cause precisely the opposite of that to which Mr. Syme's want of success is to be attributed. He is as far beyond, as Mr. Syme falls short of, the mark. Mr. Syme's Mephistopheles affects the fine gentleman,—Mr. Blackie's is too often a buffoon. The former is for ever in his buskins: the latter delights in the broadest comic mask, and is never so much at home as when

"Non adstricto percurrit pulpita socco."

In the comic parts, indeed, he is frequently very happy. But he has carried his broad comedy into scenes where Göthe never dreamed of introducing it. Mr. Blackie's Mephisto-

phœles laughs aloud, where his original can scarcely be seen to smile, or where, if he smile at all, it is only under the corners of his mask,—his front-face, that which is presented to Faust, preserving all its ironical solemnity. The irony, by losing half its delicacy, loses all its power; and in passages where Göthe represents Faustus as duped by the tempter, he would be an arrant simpleton indeed, if he did not read in Mr. Blackie's tone that he is mocked at to his very face. All this is done without any substantial deviation from the original;—a mere over-doing of the tone, an over-stretching of the delicate irony, dissolves the charm and unmasks the actor;—Göthe's Mephistopheles disappears, and the clumsy devil of the puppet-show is seen in his stead. It were easy to find examples of this in what is called the compact scene. We shall merely refer the reader to one passage, in which it is very remarkable (Act III. 6, p. 122), where Mephistopheles, in a rage, announces to Faustus the loss of the jewels, which have been claimed by a priest for the service of the Church. The original appears to us in its way one of the most characteristic scenes in the drama. The devil's passion is painted after Göthe's own fashion; but, from the cause just explained, the point is completely lost in Mr. Blackie's, humorous certainly, but not *Mephistophelean* verses.

In 1835 two translations appeared; one by the Hon. Robert Talbot, the other by Dr. Anster. Mr. Talbot has since given a second edition, in which the work has undergone very considerable correction. We shall speak of this, rather than the first, which, it seems, was published under all the disadvantages which the protracted illness of the author may be supposed to have induced. It is unquestionably a work of great merit; and, for a poetical translation, of great accuracy—far short, however, of that for which the author takes credit to himself. Mr. Talbot has had the courage to print the original in alternate pages; and, with an industry which deserves the highest praise, has translated the German text line by line, often hitting it off almost word for word, and, in most instances, even following the leading forms of the versification. In this indeed, however we may admire the industry and perseverance which he displays, we fear that Mr. Talbot has over-calculated the capabilities of the language into which he was translating. His version, though often spirited and stirring, and, generally speaking, singularly close to the original, is too frequently formal and artificial, preserving but little of the gracefulness by which the German is distinguished. The traces of labour are too often apparent. He has not succeeded in concealing

his flute-player. The rhymes are sometimes unhappily selected; and we are too frequently reminded, by their forced and unnatural jingling, *that it is rhyme we are reading*, and that considerable sacrifices, in collocation, in structure, and in language, have been made to secure us the gratification. Even when he succeeds in avoiding this, the translation is sometimes spiritless; regular and harmonious, it is true, but palling on the ear from the very regularity of its harmony;—like the palm-wine of Xenophon, ἦδ' οὐ μὲν, κεφαλαλγες δέ. The spirit is apt to be lost in the attempt to imitate the mechanical form; and passion grows cold and evaporates in the search after the appropriate rhyme in which it is to be embodied. Indeed, the labour of translating into rhyme at all is enough, and more than enough, for an ordinary hand. But the chances of following systematically, in an English translation, the wild and capricious, yet singularly flowing, versification of the *Faust*, without sacrificing infinitely more than the success is worth, we consider much the same in our stiff and unpliant tongue, as those of scoring down the fitful sighings of the night-harp, or fixing upon canvass the living, but fleeting, shadows of the camera-obscura. Occasionally, and by a kindred spirit, it may be done; as a system, it is utterly hopeless.

Mr. Talbot often appears to us more solicitous about the words and the measure, than the spirit of the original. He is often cold, where Göthe is the most passionate. There is a scene just now before us, in which this is very remarkable,—that in which Valentine vainly attempts to avenge his sister's dishonour. Göthe's picture of the rude grief of the soldier, and the struggle between his pride and his affections, is natural and touching in the highest degree. In Mr. Talbot's hands we cannot but regard it as little short of caricature, scarcely retaining the most distant semblance of sorrow.

It is true that this is rendered more perceptible by its juxtaposition with the original, an ordeal to which none of its competitors is directly subjected. Perhaps, too, it is inseparable from the nature of his plan; and, in a translation of an original work like Göthe's, is redeemed by the extreme fidelity with which, generally speaking, he adheres to the original. We have marked one or two extracts which we shall hereafter transcribe. The first may be taken as an average specimen of Mr. Talbot's style; the other is in his happiest and most successful manner.

The second translation, published in 1835, as it was our

earliest, so also has continued our cherished favourite. It is by John Anster, LL.D., of whose powers in original composition we have already had occasion to speak in terms of high commendation.\* The detached passages of the *Faust* which, as far back as 1820, appeared from his pen in *Blackwood's Magazine*, entitled him, in Mr. Hayward's judgment, to the rank next after Shelley: and the Edinburgh reviewer expresses his "conviction that the author was better fitted for the task than any other adventurer with whose labours he was then acquainted; judging from the singularly free and spirited touches of his pen, and his evident sympathy, no less with the quaint and sarcastic, than the exalted and pathetic, moods of the German Shakspeare."†

The work, as completed in 1835, is not unworthy of the high hopes which the earlier fragments had created. While the easy flow of the numbers bears scarce a trace of the labour or constraint of translation, the true spirit of the original is well maintained, whether in pathos or in humour, in the broad and cutting sarcasm, as well as in the almost impalpable irony which pervades many of the scenes. The principle upon which he translates seems to be the very opposite of that followed by Mr. Talbot. With him the spirit is the first object, and, even when he departs a little from the words, it is but for the purpose of embodying more strongly in our language the tone of the original. This is the secret of his success. His translation is never deficient in interest, whether its character be sombre or gay. His delineation of Mephistopheles is almost uniformly very successful. In the passage already cited from his preface he has hit off the true difficulty of this mysterious character; and he seldom fails to express his most delicate peculiarities—the silent and stealthy irony, the malignity which bursts even through his merriment, the falsehood which is stamped even upon the truisms which he utters.

Dr. Anster is essentially a poet; perhaps too much so to be a *perfectly close* translator. It is difficult for a warm and original imagination to resist the temptation of rambling among the fruits and flowers of Göthe's page. He himself makes no claim to verbal fidelity; and it has been objected to his work, especially by the rival translator, Mr. Talbot, (whose strictures certainly overstep the limits of "friendly emulation"), that he permits himself undue license in ex-

\* Dublin Review, vol. ii. p. 547.

† No. LXII, 37.



panding, and occasionally adding to, the original. In the eyes of those rabbinical critics who estimate the fidelity of a translation by its containing the same number of words and lines as the text, some passages may perhaps be found (like that which Mr. Talbot most unfairly quotes as a specimen of the general manner) which may give the charge an imposing appearance. But no man who looks beyond the surface of the language, and numbers not words, but ideas, in the comparison, will agree in Mr. Talbot's conclusion. If there be an occasional expansion of the text, it is generally "the addition of a clause which does little more than express something more fully implied in the German, than in such English phrases as occurred to the writer." In some instances perhaps (as in pages 120, 276), the license is stretched a little too far. But, in general, he but uses the privilege of what is called *compensation*, so freely accorded and so much admired in Coleridge's *Wallenstein*, and many of our most approved translations. There can scarcely be a better example of this, than in the following beautiful lines of Coleridge, an amplification certainly, but yet an exquisite translation, of Schiller's couplet:

"Die alten Fabelwesen sind nicht mehr,  
Das reizende Geschlecht ist ausgewandert."

"The intelligible forms of ancient poets,  
The fair humanities of old religion,  
The Power, the Beauty, and the Majesty,  
That had their haunts in dale, or piny mountain,  
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring,  
Or chasms and watery depths; all these have vanished—  
They live no longer in the faith of reason."

Very rarely indeed does Dr. Anster push the privilege so far as in this beautiful passage. But perhaps it is fair to give an example of his manner, by placing a short extract from his version side by side with the literal prose translation of Mr. Hayward. In the following passage Faust is represented as contemplating the sign of the microcosm, and lost in amazement at the wondrous operations of nature. The leading idea is "*Eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt*"—the ceaseless, unchanging, yet changeless, activity, with which the several influences intermingle in the grand but varied order of the universe.

ANSTER.

"See! all things with each other blending—  
Each to all its being lending—

All on each in turn depending ;  
 Heavenly ministers descending,  
 And again to heaven up-tending ;  
 Floating, mingling, interweaving,  
 Rising, sinking, and receiving,  
 Each from each, while each is giving  
 On to each, and each relieving  
 Each ; the pails of gold, the living  
 Current through the air is heaving !  
 Breathing blessings, see them bending,  
 Balanced worlds from change defending,  
 While everywhere diffused is harmony unending !"

HAYWARD.

"How all weaves itself into a whole ; the one works and lives in the other ! How the heavenly influences ascend and descend, and reach each other the golden buckets ; on bliss-exhaling pinions press from heaven to earth, all ringing harmoniously through the all !"

What could be finer or more expressive of the leading idea of the text than this exquisitely poetical amplification ? What, in like manner, could be happier than the storm of the Brocken scene, the contents of the "huckster-witch's" basket, the hurry-scurry scampering flight of the motley groups which throng to the wild festivities of the Brocken. You can hear the "zischen" and "quirlen," the "rutschen" and "klappern" of their flight, in the very march and sweep of the magnificently expressive versification. To proscribè such licences in poetical translation is to exile true genius from this most attractive field, and to hand it over, in undisputed possession, to the creeping pedants or brainless automats of the lowest walks of literature.

There is, however, another defect charged upon the translation, towards which we are less disposed to be indulgent. We cannot help coinciding in the regret that so successful a master of versification should have drawn so largely on blank verse. We are aware that he has not done so without a principle ; but we are unwilling to concede the justice of its application. It is perfectly true that there is a great difference between the English and German languages as regards the facilities of versification. Those who have read the original of *Faust*, or still more, any of the lighter poets of Germany—Wieland, for example, in his minor romances—will have felt that they wrote in a language susceptible of modifications, which it would be hopeless to attempt in ours ; one in which "it is perfectly possible to preserve the form without the colouring

of poetry." But that even the lower forms of English versification may be made not only readable but attractive, there needs no other evidence than the eminent success with which Dr. A. has himself executed some passages which, on this score, are unquestionably the most difficult in the whole drama. It is true, as he alleges, precedent may be advanced in defence of the rhymeless verses. Göthe himself has had recourse, in *Faust*, not only to blank verse, but even to prose; and Shelley has dealt much in blank verse in the small portion which he translated. But Shelley's are, after all, but unfinished fragments; and, as such, claim an indulgence to which a regular translation is not entitled; and Göthe, so far from following the principle which Dr. Anster lays down, has reserved his rhymeless verse, and, still more, his prose, for the most vehement and impassioned scenes of the play. Still less can we be influenced by what is said on the other hand,\* that in the doggrel of Swift and Butler the interest, if it be not positively injured, is but little increased, by the metrical form. There is very little in the *Faust* that bears the slightest analogy, either in matter or in tone to these compositions; and for the little there is, we should have no difficulty in admitting the principle. The bustling and shifting dialogue of the "Gate scene" is, perhaps, more spirited in Dr. Anster's blank verse than in the rhymes of his fellow-translators; nor should we object to see the principle extended to the buffooneries of the cellar, to the gossipings of Martha Schwerdtlein, or the absurdities of the "Witch's Kitchen." But we cannot help complaining that the fear of becoming, like Swift or Butler, a "tedious and weary study," should have deterred him from adopting the metrical form in so large a portion of the "Compact scene," and still more in that thrilling interview of Faustus with the maniac Margaret, with which the tragedy closes. Surely there is no capriciousness of versification which the author of the following magnificent passage might not hope to follow with success:—

"Bin ich der Flüchtling nicht?—der unbehauste?  
 Der Unmensch ohne Zweck und Ruh?  
 Der, wie ein Wassersturz von Fels zu Felsen brauste,  
 Begierig wuthend nach dem Abgrund zu?  
 Und seitwärts sie, mit kindlich dumpfen Sinnen,  
 Im Hütchen auf dem kleinen Alpenfeld,  
 Und all ihr häusliches Beginnen  
 Umfängen in den kleinen Welt.  
 Und ich, der Gottverhasste, hatte nicht genug

---

\* Dr. Anster's Preface.

Dass ich die Felsen fasste  
 Und sie zu Trümmern schlug !  
 Sie, ihren Frieden, musst' ich untergraben !  
 Du, Hölle, musstest dieses Opfer haben !  
 Hilf Teufel, mir die Zeit der Angst verkürzen !  
 Was muss geschehn, lass gleichs geschehn !  
 Mag ihr Geschick auf mich zusammen stürzen,  
 Und sie mit mir zu Grunde gehn !"

## TRANSLATION.

And am I not the outcast—the accurst—  
 The homeless one, whose wanderings never cease !  
 The monster of his kind ! No rest for me—  
 No aim—no object ; like the stream that, nurst  
 With swelling rains, foaming from rock to rock,  
 Along its course of ruin,  
 On to the inevitable precipice,  
 Plunges impatient down the blind abyss,  
 And violently seeks the desperate shock !  
 And by the side of such mad stream was she,  
 A child with a child's feelings ; her low cot  
 In the green field upon the mountain slope,  
 And all that she could wish or hope—  
 Her little world—all, all in that poor spot ;—  
 And I, the heaven-detested ! Was it not  
 Enough that the mad torrent grasped and tore  
 The rocks, and shivered them to dust, and bore  
 All that opposed me in my downward course  
 On with me ? Her, too, her—her peace, her joy—  
 These must I undermine—these, too, destroy ?  
 Hell ! hell ! this victim also ! Thy support,  
 Devil ! and the dreadful interval make short !  
 What must be, be it soon ! Let the crush fall  
 Down on me, of her ruin—perish all—  
 She—I—and these wild thoughts together !"

Of the last translation of the *Faust*, by Jonathan Birch, Esq. (London, 1839), the less we say the better. Had it appeared while the idea was still entertained that the *Faust* was untranslatable, it might have met some indulgence ; but the success of its predecessors has cut away this ground of justification. It is incomparably the worst which has yet been attempted. As a translation, it is bad ; as a poetical translation, it is worse ; but as a translation of *Faust* it is worst of all.

With so many excellent guides before him, one might suppose it absolutely impossible that a new translator should lose his way, much more that he should be perpetually falling into the grossest blunders. We have compared the entire of the

"Compact scene," as being one of the most remarkable, with the original. It is replete with errors. Instead, however, of going through a detailed examination, we shall merely submit one short passage, as a specimen of the translator's capabilities. It will be found in page 79 :

"Schlägst du erst diese Welt zu Trümmern  
Die andre mag darnach entstehn.  
Aus dieser Erde quellen meine Freuden,  
Und diese Sonne scheint meinen Leiden ;  
Kann ich mich erst von ihnen scheiden,  
Dann mag was will und kann geschehn."

This is a very simple and obvious passage, the sense of which it would appear almost impossible to mistake. Mr. Birch translates it,

"The 'then' concerns me not—that feeling ceases  
When once the world you've smashed to pieces.  
I take no interest in the next one's riot ;  
Out of this earth flow all my joys.  
It is this sun which witnessed my 'passion,'  
And, am I parted from its *sweet decoys* ?  
Then come what will, and in what fashion !"

We should not think much of the absurd paraphrase of *die andre mag entstehn* (the other may arise)—"I take no interest in the *next one's riot*." But it is almost incredible that any one, with the sense of the passage staring him in the face, could translate *meine Leiden* (my sufferings) *my passion* ; still more, that, in the following line, he should render *mich von ihnen scheiden*, "and am I parted from its *sweet decoys* ?" There needs but slender knowledge of German to show that the plural pronoun *ihnen* must refer to *leiden*, and not to *Welt*, and that the meaning of the line is precisely the opposite of Mr. Birch's "sweet decoys," "if I can but separate myself from *them*," that is, "*from my sufferings*." Nor is this a solitary example. A little further on (p. 82), there is scarcely a line without a mistake. There are no less than six obvious mistranslations in this single page—in the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, twentieth, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth lines. The reader may perhaps suppose that these errors are induced by the necessities of the versification ; but the fact is, that, in this particular also, the author sets all rule at defiance. His work is filled with the oddest words, as "keckish," "twinking," "lactic," "stellar," "obescular," &c. ; and the rhymes are even more absurd. He seems to consider it enough if the last

syllable, or even the last letter, coincide. Rhymes such as "overtowering—hand-wringing," (p. 52); "content—absent," (p. 69); "lecturing—hearing," (p. 89); "drops—envelops," "cellar—obesecular," &c. occur at every turn; and in the compass of a single page (88), we find "tumult" chiming to "at fault," "agreement" to "allotment," "studies" to "praises," and "errand" to "off-hand"!

We should not have thought it necessary to advert to this at all, did not the author in his preface lead the reader to believe that his versification may be taken as representing Göthe's.

"Relative to this translation, I have proposed to myself to give the meaning of my author fully, neither skipping over, nor avowedly leaving out, any part; but, studiously masking such passages as might be considered objectionable to delicacy; to give it in poetry *line for line*; and literally, where the genius of the two languages admitted of such closeness; for, if too verbally given, Göthe becomes increasingly obscure, and his beauties remain undeveloped. I have therefore considered it better on some occasions, to give a good liberal English equivalent, rather than a cramped verbatim; so that the *verse might flow*, without which no poetical version could ever become agreeable to the English reader, or *approach to a display of Göthe's versification*. In fact, a spirited translation, palpable, interesting, and pleasing from its *euphony* to the Englishman, and satisfactory to the German scholar from its correctness."—Pref. p. xi.

It can hardly be necessary to assure the reader that Mr. Birch's versification gives pretty much as good an idea of Göthe's, as a hurdy-gurdy may give of the organ at Westminster; and as for euphony, if any one can find the smallest trace of it in his verses, he must have formed his ear in the school of Mr. Zachary Boyd, whose poem concludes with the following harmonious couplet, cited by the *Edinburgh Reviewer* of Hoyle's Exodus.\*

"Now was not Pharoah a very great *rascal*,

Not to let the children of Israel, with their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, go out into the wilderness to eat the Lord's *pascal*!"

Among the endless theories upon the scope and tendency of the first part of *Faust*, there is one which regards it as a grand, moral, or religious allegory, designed to illustrate the insufficiency of earthly pleasures, whether of mind or of sense, for the happiness of man. The second part, however, if we regard it as a continuation of the first, completely upturns this theory, and destroys the existence of *Faust* as a moral poem.

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\* Vol. xi. p. 367.



Had Faustus, like Calderon's *Cyprian*, been prepared by repentance and purified by martyrdom, or even by protracted trial, we might see in his ultimate deliverance from the enemy to whom he had forfeited his soul, the realization of some moral lesson which the poem was intended to convey. But the strange and incongruous close of the mystery, in which the magician, unpurified, and as far as meets the eye, almost unrepentant, is at once transferred to the heaven which he had insulted and defied, is utterly at variance with any rational theory of religion or morals, and would almost seem to justify the severity of Coleridge's criticism.

On our part, we have even preferred to regard the first part as an independent, though unfinished, poem: and to consider its object and scope without reference to the strange and incongruous lights thrown upon them by the second. Be this, however, as it may, the first part of *Faust*, with all its wildness and levity, contains many passages replete with the most sublime conceptions of religion, and bespeaking a profound sense, if not of its devotional warmth, at least of its sentiment and poetry. We need only refer to the hymn of the archangels in the Prologue, deformed as it is by its juxtaposition with the revolting levity of Mephistopheles,—to the hymns of the Easter morning,—to the temptation and despair of Margaret in the Cathedral scenes,—and above all, to that exquisitely touching prayer in which she pours out her soul to the Mother of Sorrows, in her own hour of sorrow, and alas! of sin.

The devotional poetry of Germany is but little read,—the Catholic portion scarce at all—in these countries. The "*Trutz-nachtigall*," and the "*Guldenes Tugend-buch*" of the Jesuit Frederick Spee, are possibly unknown, even by name, to most readers; Novalis' exquisite "*Hymnen an die Nacht*," perhaps little more. We have seldom seen even an allusion to Frederick Schlegel's sacred poetry, although his little ode *An die Pilgerschaft*, is perhaps one of his most finished compositions; and Stolberg's sacred odes are the least known among all his writings. We may find an occasion hereafter, of examining this interesting subject more in detail. For the present, a few extracts from the *Faust* may show how admirably the German language is adapted, by its extreme flexibility, and its wondrous facilities of combination and composition, to embody the fervour and tenderness of sacred poetry, whether descriptive or devotional.

The "*Prologue in Heaven*" is founded upon that passage in Job i. 6, in which it is told, that, "on a certain day, when

the Sons of God came to stand before the Lord, Satan also was present among them." It opens with the alternate hymn of the archangels. We give it in the translation of Dr. Anster:—

## RAPHAEL.

"The Sun, as in the ancient days,  
'Mong sister stars in rival song,  
His destined path observes, obeys,  
And still in thunder rolls along;  
New strength and full beatitude  
The angels gather from his sight.  
Mysterious all—yet all is good,  
All fair, as at the birth of light.

## GABRIEL.

Swift, unimaginably swift,  
Soft spins the earth, and glories bright  
Of mid-day Eden, change and shift  
To shades of deep and spectral night.  
The vexed sea foams—waves leap and moan,  
And chide the rocks with insult hoarse;  
And waves and rock are hurried on,  
And suns and stars, in endless course.

## MICHAEL.

And winds with winds mad war maintain,  
From sea to land, from land to sea,  
And heave round earth a living chain  
Of interwoven agency.  
Guides of the bursting thunder peal,  
Fast lightning's flash, with deadly ray;  
While, Lord, with thee, thy servants feel  
Full effluence of abiding day.

## ALL.

New strength and full beatitude  
The angels gather from thy sight;  
Mysterious all—yet all is good,  
All fair, as at the birth of light."

The third scene is among the finest in the drama. *Faust* in the humiliation and despair which follow the terrific apparition of the Spirit of the earth, forms the resolution of terminating, by suicide, his doubts, as well as his misery. Everything around serves to confirm his purpose; the emblems of science with which his chamber is filled, have lost their charm; the instruments of his unavailing art,—the cog, the wheel, the cylinder,—by reminding him of its futility, but tend to deepen his despair; the scull which garnishes his study, seems to grin

in mockery of his humiliation,—to tell, in his spectral smile, the story of one who, like himself—

“In unsatisfying thought,  
By twilight glimmers led astray,  
Like him, at length, sank over-wrought.

He takes the fatal phial in his hand ; he draws down from its case the antique goblet of his fathers, teeming with memories of earlier and happier days,—touching, and tender memories are they ; but finding no echo, alas ! in his seared and blighted heart. He fills the goblet to the brim—he has raised it to his lips,—when hark ! “*Glocken Klang und Chors gesang !*” “the sound of bells and voices chaunting in choir.” It is the Easter morn—the joyous hymn of Easter. The despairing man is stayed for a moment in his purpose. He listens ; a thousand tender and holy recollections rush thronging back upon his heart. He wavers,—he yields,—he dashes the cup from his lips,—

“Tears come, and earth has won her child again !”

It is a scene of overpowering interest. “Never shall I forget,” says M. Marmier, “the impression which I experienced when I witnessed, for the first time, the representation of *Faust* in Germany ;—when, after that long and terrible soliloquy, those accents of cold despair, that resolution of suicide, I heard that sweet majestic church music resound, that deep solemn voice of the organ, those songs of joy, side by side with the gloomy words of *Faust*,—those sweet rejoicings of religion beside that self-annihilation of the incredulous soul,—and that cry of salvation, that awaking of suffering humanity. ‘Peace to the world ! peace to the world ! Christ hath arisen !’—this sublime appeal of Christianity, resounding in the ears of him who believes no longer, and desires to die ! oh, it is one of the most touching and beautiful scenes, which the modern drama has ever presented,—a scene founded in all that is most solemn in religion, and most profound in the human heart.”\* Those who have heard the simple but majestic hymn, “*O Filii et Filiae*,” with its glad and bounding, we had almost written gay accompaniment, will easily understand this impression. Göthe’s hymn, though it does not follow, is founded upon this simple chaunt, with which Catholic usage ushers in the early morn of Easter. We give the whole scene in Mr. Talbot’s

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\* Etudes sur Göthe, par X. Marmier, pp. 176-7.

translation, in which, however, though accurate, the original loses much of its best charm—its simplicity.

## CHORUS OF ANGELS.

“ Christ is arisen !  
Heaven opens its portal ;  
Joy to the mortal,  
Whom, awhile the disgracing,  
Native, debasing  
Defects could imprison !

## FAUST.

What solemn murmurs—what melodious tones  
Dash from my lips the chalice all at once ?  
Deep-sounding bells, ah ! do you harbinger  
Of Easter's hallowed feast the joyful birth ?  
Chaunt ye the hymn so comforting to earth,  
Ye of the choir, which round the sepulchre,  
From angels' lips, the awful gloom to cheer,  
Was heard ; and to the world revealed  
That the new covenant was sealed ?

## CHORUS OF WOMEN.

With spices rare  
We sprinkled him about ;  
Ours, his true handmaids, was the care  
To lay the Saviour out !  
Yes, it was our's to bind  
With cloth, his limbs so dear ;  
But now, alas ! we find  
Christ is no longer here !

## CHORUS OF ANGELS.

Christ is on high,  
Restored to the sky !  
How glorious the loving,  
The gentle, the good ;  
Who, the painful, soul-proving,  
Corruption-removing,  
Ordeal hath stood.

## FAUST.

Ye sweet, yet animating tones, why must  
Your heavenly chords thus seek me in the dust ?  
Go visit mortals of a softer mould,—  
I hear your tidings, but my faith is cold !  
Faith's darling child the wonderful was e'er !  
To seek those spheres, I may not dare,  
From whence your gracious news come down !  
And yet, from early youth your power I've known ;  
And now you call me back to life again !

Time was, when on my brow I felt heaven's kiss  
 Descended in the Sabbath's stillness ! Then  
 Swelled on my ear your joy-presaging peal—  
 And prayer to me was deep substantial\* bliss !  
 A nameless longing then my soul could feel,  
 Which drove my steps abroad through grove and field ;  
 Then bursts of scalding tears to me would yield  
 A better world ! This hymn was sure to bring,  
 Full on my heart, the joys of opening spring,  
 And youth's gay sports ! A childish feeling  
 Of fond remembrance o'er my senses stealing, [strain !  
 Thrills this last serious, serious step ! Proceed, thou heavenly  
 Tears flow apace—and I am earth's again !

## CHORUS OF DISCIPLES.

The buried One is raised on high !  
 Living He treads His native sky !  
 That glorious height 'twas His to climb,  
 To unfolding bliss sublime.  
 To joy's creative essence nigh !  
 On Earth's rude breast we suffering lie.  
 Alas ! He left us here forlorn,  
 With envious tears the bliss to mourn,  
 That has our Master from us torn !

## CHORUS OF ANGELS.

Christ is risen, and remains  
 Free from all corruption's stains ;  
 Then, mortals, rise exultingly,  
 And burst the bonds that fetter ye !  
 Ye, wont your hymns of love to raise,  
 Ye who by deeds proclaim his praise,  
 Ye who go forth a band of brothers,  
 Preaching his kingdom to all others,  
 Heralds of bliss, for you He's here ;  
 To you the Master's ever near !"

In reading this and the following scene, which, though opposite in its results, is yet precisely the same in principle, we perceive how well Göthe appreciated the solemn and impressive ceremonial of our Church, and how well he understood the influence which she thus exercises upon the imagination, and, through the imagination, upon the heart, in all its varied moods of cheerfulness or despondency ; sending her

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\* This is far from the *brunstiger Genuss* of the original. Dr. Anster has rendered it more literally, and much more happily.

Und ein Gebet war brunstiger Genuss !

"And prayer was then indeed a *burning joy* !"

terrors or her consolations into the soul, through every avenue which nature has provided. "The impressions of the soul," says the Protestant Oehlenschläger, "are sensible, and made through the senses; and it is stupidity and madness to attempt to separate soul and body." True piety, like all other real feeling, is essentially of the heart. But it is not the less solid where the heart is moved through the imagination than where it is influenced through the intellect. The eye is not a less eloquent advocate than the ear. The ear discharges its office with surest effect when it ministers to the imagination, or rather when it appeals to the intellect through that medium; and, while we adore the Infinite wisdom which the mysterious adaptation of our senses to its own wise ends bespeaks, surely, it were impiety to say that religion is the only field in which this exercise is unlawful. How powerfully do these simple but solemn strains speak to the soul of the triumphs of redemption, of the peace of God, and the glorious hope of immortality! How full of joy and consolation to the believer! To the unbelieving Faust, what a spell do they exercise upon his imagination, breathing peace upon his fevered and agonizing mind, and soothing the troubled waves of passion into at least a temporary calm!

How opposite the impression in the following terrific passage! The scenery is drawn from a ceremonial of a very different character—the solemn service for the dead, in which all is terror and gloom, startling the sinner with visions of the horrors of judgment and of sin. Margaret,—whose sad history it were needless to tell,—betrayed, and, for the time, abandoned, by her lover, has betaken herself to the church to pray. Her soul is oppressed with frightful memories of the past, and torn with gloomy forebodings of the future. The vision of her unhappy mother, whom her own guilty hand had sent to an unhonoured grave—the blood of her murdered brother, who, in the vain attempt to avenge her dishonour, had fallen by the sword of her betrayer; and, alas! worse than all, the consciousness of departed innocence, her own blighted fame, the horrors of exposure and of shame—all these come crowding in dark and menacing groups before her imagination! How well do the circumstances accord with this miserable condition of mind! The gloomy aisle, with its gloomier decorations—the naked altar—the black bier—the mystic emblems of the grave—the monumental hangings, increasing by their lugubrious hue the gloom of all around—the priest and ministering clergy in their sable vestments—the



deep sepulchral tones of the organ—the awful words chaunted by the choir—a mysterious echo of the despair within—all these might appal the soul in its brightest and most innocent hour. But, alas! with what tenfold terror do they come upon the bewildered senses of the distracted girl!—with what fatal power do they assist the dark suggestions of the evil spirit!—

“Quidquid latet adparebit!  
Nil inultum remanebit!”

If it be true that Göthe has borrowed this scene from the temptation of Justina, in Calderon's play, he has added to it all the terror and dramatic effect which the most poetical combination of circumstances could impart. In this strange scene we should observe the original abandons the rhythmical form.

#### “CATHEDRAL.

SERVICE—ORGAN AND ANTHEM.

MARGARET, *among a number of people.*—EVIL SPIRIT *behind*  
MARGARET.

EVIL SPIRIT.

How changed is every thing,  
With thee, poor Margaret,  
Since when, full of innocence,  
Thou to this very altar  
Didst come, and from the little old thumbed prayer-book  
Didst lisp the murmured prayers,  
Half with the children out at play,  
In a child's happy fancies, thy young heart,  
And half with God in heaven.  
And dost thou, canst thou think?  
Thy brain, where wanders it?  
In thy heart, oh! what a weight  
Of guilt! of evil done!  
Prayest thou for thy mother's soul—  
She who through thee did sleep and sleep away  
Into undying agonies?  
And on thy door-stead whose the blood?  
And in thy bosom is there not  
A stirring that is torture,  
And with foreboding fears  
Makes felt the present woe?

MARGARET.

Woe, woe!

Oh! that I could escape  
These dark thoughts flitting over and athwart me,  
And all accusing me!

## CHOIR.

*Dies iræ, dies illa  
Solvat sæclum in favilla.*

## EVIL SPIRIT.

The judgment arrests thee,  
The trumpet is sounding,  
The graves are astir,  
And thy heart,  
From the sleep of its ashes,  
For fiery torture  
Created again,  
Awakes up and trembles!

## MARGARET.

That I were out of this !  
I feel as if the organ  
Stifled my breathing,  
And that the anthem was  
Breaking my heart.

## CHOIR.

*Judex ergo cum sedebit,  
Quidquid latet adparebit,  
Nil inultum remanebit.*

## MARGARET.

I feel so tightened here—  
The pillars of the wall  
Are grasping me ;  
The arch above  
Weighs on me. Aid !

## EVIL SPIRIT.

Hide thyself—sin and shame  
Will find thee out—  
Ah, never were they hidden !  
Air—light—exposure—  
Woe's thee !

## CHOIR.

*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus  
Quem patronum rogaturus  
Cum vix justus sit securus.*

## EVIL SPIRIT.

From thee their countenances  
The sons of light all turn,  
To reach to thee their hands  
Makes the pure shudder—  
Woe !

## CHOIR.

*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus.*MARGARET (*fainting*) to the girl next her.

Your flasket, friend."

ANSTER, pp. 260-3.

How opposite the conclusion of the temptation scene as we read it in the older dramatist! How different the exulting reply of Justina to the baffled tempter—

"Mi defensa en Dios consiste!"

And yet both are perfectly true to nature. Calderon's heroine is upheld by the consciousness of innocence: Göthe's is borne down by the weight of present guilt and the bodings of coming shame. Alas! alas! there was none to suggest to poor Margaret—

"No tiene

Tantas estallas el Cielo,  
Tantas arenas el mar,  
Tantas centillas el fuego,  
Tantas atomas el dia,  
Ni tantas plumas el viento,  
Como el perdona pecados!"

There is one other scene less painful, or, at least, possessing more of consolation mingled with the wretchedness which it portrays. We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it. It is a beautiful illustration of one of the most simple yet most touching and natural practices of Catholic piety. Poor Margaret, in the fulness of her simple sorrow, flies to her who hath known sorrow like herself. She pours forth her soul at the feet of the Mater Dolorosa. Who could look, unconsolated, upon that sweetly sorrowful countenance; who could contemplate the wound in that heart, nor feel that it has learned in its own affliction to compassionate ours! Poor Margaret replaces the faded flowers which stand before the shrine—emblems, alas! of her own departed innocence! She weeps and prays. We know not in the whole compass of devotional poetry, saving always some of the noble hymns which the usage of our Church has consecrated, anything more exquisitely tender, or containing more of the true poetry of nature and of religion, than her simple prayer. It is extremely well translated both by Dr. Anster and Mr. Talbot. We are induced to give it in the words of both.

Dr. Anster's translation—

MARGARET.

"Mother benign  
Look down on me!  
No grief like thine;  
Thou who dost see,  
In his death-agony,  
Thy son divine.

In faith unto the Father  
Dost thou lift up thine eyes;  
In faith unto the Father  
Dost pray with many sighs.

The sword is piercing thine own soul, and thou in pain dost pray  
That the pangs which torture him, and are thy pangs, may pass away!

And who my wound can heal,  
And who the pain can feel,  
That rends asunder brain and bone?  
How my poor heart within me aching,  
Trembles and yearns, and is forsaken—  
Thou knowest it, thou alone!

Where can I go? Where can I go?  
Every where woe! woe! woe!  
Nothing that does not my own grief betoken!  
And, when I am alone,  
I moan, and moan, and moan,  
And am heart-broken!

The flowers upon my window sill  
Wet with my tears since dawn they be;  
All else were sleeping, while I was weeping,  
Praying and choosing flowers for thee.

Into my chamber brightly  
Came the early sun's good morrow,  
On my mother's bed, unsightly,  
I sate up in my sorrow.

Oh, in this hour of death, and the near grave,  
Look on me, then, and save!  
Look on me with that countenance benign!  
Never was grief like thine—  
Look down, look down on mine!"

Mr. Talbot's translation—

MARGARET.

"Mourner divine,  
Deign to incline  
Thy looks benign  
On my necessities!

The sword within thy heart !  
 What countless pangs impart  
 Thy son's death agonies !  
 Up to the Father turn thy eyes,  
 And to high heaven ascend thy sighs,  
 For his and thy necessities !

Ah, who can feel,  
 Ah, who reveal,  
 A grief like this I own ?  
 Or, with what anguish,  
 I still must languish ?—  
 Thou, thou, and thou alone !

Wherever I may go,  
 What woe, what woe, what woe,  
 Is in my bosom nurst !  
 And when I am alone  
 I moan, and moan, and moan,  
 Feeling my heart will burst !

On the flower-pots in my window  
 The tears fell fast from me,  
 As early I, this morning,  
 Gathered these flowers for thee !

As in my lonely chamber  
 First glowed the morning's red,  
 All sleepless in my sorrow  
 I sate up in my bed.

Spare me from shame ! let me not die !

Mother benign,  
 Deign to incline,  
 Thy looks benign  
 On my necessity ! ”

With this extract we must close. There is another scene—that in Martha Schwerdtlein's garden, which may be regarded as bearing upon the sense of the *Faust* ; but it is too long for insertion here. It is that in which Margaret expostulates with her lover on his unbelieving and irreligious life. It is a beautiful picture of simple and undoubting faith upon the one side, and the solemn nonsense of scepticism on the other : and whatever may have been the intention of the writer, it is impossible not to be struck by the contrast between the sophistry with which *Faust* seeks to disguise his unbelief, in the plausible language of the Pantheistic creed, and the gentle, but firm and unwavering, faith of the artless maiden. The

scene is well translated by Mr. Talbot. It is, perhaps, his most successful passage.

We know not whether we are to expect the second part of *Faust* from the pen of any of the translators of the first. Mr. Birch threatens it, but it is on a condition which we scarcely think it probable will be realized. The three translations already published, although in some things respectable, are yet far from having exhausted the difficulties or obscurities of the original. We must confess, however, that, unless in the form of fragments, we should willingly see the very considerable talents which many of the translators of the first display, better employed than upon the second part of *Faust*. Certainly, as regards our countryman Dr. Anster, we would far more fondly indulge the hope, that, as we have heard he once intended, he would turn his rapid and graceful pen to the *terza rima* of the unexhausted and exhaustless old Florentine.

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ART. VIII.—*Convention between the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the one part, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, on the other part, with the separate Act thereunto annexed. Signed at London, on the 15th of July, 1840.*

**D**URING the last three months all Europe has been agitated by serious apprehensions that the general peace, so long happily established between the preponderating powers, was about to give way to a tremendous war. Those apprehensions, we must say, have been most wantonly excited. They have caused a great deal of mischief, by checking the usual course of commercial enterprise; they have called forth the expression of a great deal of bitterness of feeling among the French people against England; and the course of French policy to which they principally owed their birth has caused a vast expenditure of money, both in England and France, as well as an effusion of blood in the East, which might have been wholly spared by more wise and generous counsels. Thanks to a merciful Providence, and, under the care of that Providence, to the consummate ability of Lord Palmerston, we believe we may now congratulate the country upon the restoration of that tranquillity which has been so very unne-



cessarily disturbed; and we pray that the events which have recently taken place may turn out to be fresh guarantees for the continued repose of the civilized world.

The declaration issued by the pasha of Egypt about two years ago, that he had resolved on raising an independent sceptre over Egypt and Syria, including Candia and other portions of the Ottoman empire, rendered it necessary that a final decision, respecting his position with reference to the Porte, should be taken by the leading powers of Europe. The necessity for some positive and immediate arrangement became inevitable, when his son, Ibrahim Pasha, was avowedly preparing to menace Constantinople, the Turkish fleet had been treasonably steered into the harbour of Alexandria, and a new sultan, of tender years, had acceded to the Ottoman throne. Amidst all the diplomatic contentions and professions with which the press has lately teemed, it is now perfectly manifest to every intelligent mind that Russia on the one hand, and France on the other, sought, each independently of the other,—independently also of the courts of England, Austria, and Prussia,—to take substantially into its own hands the settlement of the question to which the unwarrantable proceedings of Mehemet Ali had given rise. Russia has long been exceedingly jealous of any other state which exercises, or attempts to exercise, influence over the counsels of the Porte. Her object has been, is, and will ever be, to gain an entire ascendancy at that court, and, in effect, to annex Turkey to her own dominions. Let her statesmen and her despatches profess what they may, it cannot be doubted that this is the invariable end which they are endeavouring to accomplish, even when their language appears to be the very model of disinterestedness.

Nor is it less certain that the same spirit which dictated the expedition to Egypt under Napoleon, still presides in the cabinets of France. She desires to interpose as many obstacles as possible to the intercourse—daily becoming more practicable and more valuable—between us and our Indian possessions, by the Red Sea, or such other channels as may be found still more advantageous through Syria. She desires to have under her protection Egypt and whatever dependencies can be added to it. She is already actually in possession of very large districts in Africa, to which she has given the name of French Africa. With reference to the Porte, her relations, to a certain extent, resemble those of Mehemet Ali, for she has conquered a portion of the Ottoman empire,

which she holds and rules—rules, by her own sole authority, in violation of an engagement which she had made with the other powers, that if she should gain them by her arms, she would subsequently dispose of them in concert with those powers. None of the powers have recognized her title to the sovereignty of those districts. They have preserved a strict silence upon that point, so that in truth France and Egypt may be said to be embarked in the same boat in everything touching the Eastern question. The policy that would wrest Syria from the pasha, would also, if circumstances were favourable, deprive Louis Philippe of Algiers.

These self-interested views, upon the part of Russia and France, are of course kept carefully out of sight in all the diplomatic documents which have lately met the public eye. Of course neither power would avow them, and it was no part of Lord Palmerston's business to make even the most distant allusion to them, on the face of his observations in conference, or of his documents in writing. But then all parties well knew that he was just as thoroughly acquainted with what was carefully suppressed, as he was with what was openly declared; and he could not but feel that the dangers to be avoided by him were much more the rocks that did not rise above the waves than the waves themselves, however agitated these may have been.

The historian who may have to narrate hereafter the events connected with these recent proceedings in the East, must, we think, pronounce, if he perform his duty with impartiality, the conduct of the French government throughout as marked by selfishness, vanity, and gross duplicity. What is the state of facts? Admiral Lalande has been openly accused of having concerted with the Turkish admiral the surrender of the Ottoman fleet to Mehemet Ali. At that moment Ibrahim was about to cross the Taurus; and the French government well knew that, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, a Russian army was in readiness to be conveyed to the Bosphorus to defend Constantinople from the Egyptian invader. Lord Palmerston proposed that the French and English fleets, combined, should proceed to the coasts of Syria, and address a summons to the belligerent parties, in order to compel them to suspend hostilities, and, if necessary, to force the Dardanelles, in case the struggle between the pasha and the sultan should have brought the Russians to Constantinople. To these vigorous measures France would not agree. She preferred to manage the affair

herself, by using her influence with Mehemet Ali and his son ; and procured a sort of truce, which was merely intended to gain time for intrigue. It is avowed that France was disposed to favour Mehemet Ali's views, of asserting his supremacy as far as the Taurus.

Lord Palmerston could no longer hesitate as to his course. He was unwilling to act without the French, but finding them indisposed to co-operate with him in the only course of policy which he deemed best for securing the integrity of the Ottoman empire, as a security for the peace of Europe, he, in June 1839, made known to France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that, in his judgment, the only arrangement between the sultan and Mehemet Ali which could effect those great objects would be that which should confine Mehemet Ali's delegated authority to Egypt alone, and should re-establish the direct authority of the sultan in the whole of Syria as well as in Candia and the holy cities ; thus separating the conflicting powers by the Desert. He proposed, further, that the administration of Egypt should be guaranteed to Mehemet Ali and his male descendants.

To these proposals France again objected, asserting that they could be carried into effect only by force, as the pasha never would willingly agree to them, and that the exercise of force for that purpose would produce consequences much more dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe than the then state of things. She offered no plan of her own at that time. Lord Palmerston's communication, however, led to a general expression of opinion upon the part of the four powers, including France, which stands recorded in Marshal Soult's despatch of the 17th of July, 1839, the collective note of all the five powers, dated the 27th of the same month, and the speech of the king of the French, delivered to his chambers in December the same year. It was then clearly determined by all those powers, that the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire should be preserved under the reigning dynasty ; that they should all employ their means of action and influence to secure the maintenance of this element, so essential to the balance of power, and that they would unhesitatingly declare themselves against any combination which should affect that balance. The French government even suggested that the Cabinets would be adopting a measure essential to the consolidation of peace, were they to declare in written documents, to be mutually interchanged, and, in case of need, published more or less fully, that they were actuated by such intentions.

M. Thiers, in his note of the 3d of October last, with which the public must be now perfectly familiar, has confidently alleged that nobody then thought that the "integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire" consisted in the limit which was to separate in Syria the possessions of the sultan and the viceroy. There never was an assertion made by a minister more untenable, to use a mild expression, than the one here referred to. Lord Palmerston most clearly stated his views upon this point in June 1839, to France as well as to the other powers. It was fully discussed between his lordship and the Count Sebastiani (then French minister in London), in September in 1839: the Count even suggested certain lines of demarcation, to which Lord Palmerston objected, and although M. Thiers declares that M. Sebastiani was not "authorised" to make any "propositions" on that subject, nevertheless, it cannot possibly be true to say, that the French government did not know all along that England never would consent to the annexation of Syria to the Pashalic of Egypt.

It is unnecessary to follow up the whole train of the negotiations in which Lord Palmerston was subsequently engaged with the four other powers, with a view to bring these important matters to a satisfactory conclusion. They are fresh in the public memory. It is sufficient here to state that his lordship endeavoured, by all the means in his power (having even consented to give a larger extent of territory to the pasha than was, perhaps, strictly consistent with the interests of the Ottoman empire), to ensure the co-operation of France with England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in order to compel Mehemet Ali to acquiesce in the views of the latter powers. France decidedly declared that she would take no part in coercive measures against Mehemet Ali. The negotiations proceeded; France was from day to day made fully acquainted with every step that was taken, and, eventually, a convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the one part, and the Sublime Porte on the other, was signed, on the 15th of July last. The preamble informs us that the sultan had addressed himself to the sovereigns of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, to ask their support and assistance in the difficulties in which he found himself placed by reason of the hostile proceedings of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt—difficulties which threatened with danger the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and the independence of the sultan's throne. The sovereigns so appealed to, it is further stated, moved by the sincere friendship which subsists between them

and the sultan, animated by the desire of maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire as a security for the peace of Europe; faithful to the engagement which they contracted by the collective note presented to the Porte by their representatives at Constantinople, on the 27th of July 1839; and desirous, moreover, to prevent the effusion of blood, which would be occasioned by a continuance of the hostilities which have recently broken out between the authorities of the pasha of Egypt and the subjects of the Sultan, resolved, for the aforesaid purposes, to conclude together a convention. This resolution they carried into effect in the document now before us, which may be summed up as follows:

The sultan and the sovereigns had agreed amongst themselves as to the conditions of an arrangement which the former intended to grant to Mehemet Ali. They engaged to act in perfect accord, and to unite their efforts in order to determine Mehemet Ali to conform to that arrangement; each of the parties reserving to itself to co-operate for that purpose, according to the means of action which each might have at its disposal. If the pasha should refuse to accept that arrangement, active measures were to be taken with a view to effect the arrangement in question. In the meantime the communication by sea between Egypt and Syria was to be cut off; measures were to be adopted without delay, in order to prevent the transport of troops, horses, arms, and warlike stores of all kinds, from the one province to the other, and all possible support and assistance were to be afforded to those subjects of the sultan who might manifest their allegiance to his highness. Should Mehemet Ali, after having refused to submit to the conditions of the proposed arrangement, direct his land or sea forces against Constantinople, the contracting parties, upon the express demand of the sultan, agreed, in such case, to comply with that request, and to provide for the defence of the Ottoman throne by means of a co-operation agreed upon by mutual consent, for the purpose of placing the two straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, as well as Constantinople, in security against all aggression. The forces thus called in to the aid of the sultan were to remain so employed as long as their presence should be required by him, and when he should deem their aid no longer necessary they were to withdraw simultaneously, and respectively to return to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

It was, however, to be clearly understood, that the cooperation above-mentioned, with a view to place the Dardanelles

and the Bosphorus under the temporary safeguard of the contracting parties, against all aggression on the part of Mehemet Ali, should be considered only as a measure of exception adopted at the express demand of the Sultan, and solely for his defence in the single case above-mentioned. Such measure was not to derogate in any degree from the ancient rule of the Porte, in virtue of which, it had in all times been prohibited for ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus. The sultan, on the one hand, declared that, excepting the contingency in question, it was his firm resolution to maintain in future this principle, invariably established as the ancient regulation of his empire; and as long as the Porte was at peace, to admit no foreign ship of war into the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles. The other contracting parties engaged to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform to the above-mentioned principle.

The arrangement intended for Mehemet Ali, was to grant to him, and his descendants in the direct line, the administration of the pashalic of Egypt, and moreover to concede to him for his life, with the title of Pasha of Acre, and with the command of the fortress of St. John of Acre, the administration of the southern part of Syria; the limits of which were to be specified by a line beginning at Cape Ras-el-Nakbora, on the coast of the Mediterranean, extending direct from thence, as far as the mouth of the river Seizaban, at the northern extremity of the lake of Tiberias, passing along the western shore of that lake, following the right bank of the Jordan, and the western shore of the Dead Sea; from thence extending straight to the Red Sea, which it would strike at the northern point of the gulf of Akaba. Thence it was to follow the western shore of the gulf of Akaba, and the eastern shore of the gulf of Suez, as far as Suez. To these offers, however, a condition was to be attached, that Mehemet Ali should accept them within the space of ten days after they were communicated to him; and at the same time, place in the hands of an agent of the Porte, the necessary instructions to the commanders of the Egyptian sea and land forces, to withdraw immediately from Arabia, and from all the "holy cites," which are therein situated; from the island of Candia, the district of Adana, and all other parts of the Ottoman empire which are not comprised within the limits of Egypt, and within the pashalic of Acre, as above defined. If Mehemet Ali should not accept this arrangement within the time mentioned, then the offer of the pashalic of Acre was to be withdrawn, but that of Egypt as before de-



scribed, was to remain, provided it should be accepted within ten further days, from the expiration of the previous period, it being provided that the necessary directions should be given for the surrender of every part of the Ottoman empire in his possession, Egypt alone excepted. The Pasha was to pay to the Porte an annual tribute, proportioned to the greater or less amount of territory, of which he might obtain the administration, according as he should accept the first or second alternative; and he was, moreover, in either case, to deliver up the Turkish fleet, without making any charge for its maintenance during the time it remained in the ports of Egypt. Should the offer as to Egypt be also refused, then it was to be considered as withdrawn, and the sultan was to be at liberty to adopt such ulterior course as his own interests, and the counsels of his allies, might suggest to him.

By three protocols it was subsequently arranged, that the sultan should reserve to himself, as heretofore, the delivery of passes to light vessels under flag of war, employed according to custom for the service of the correspondence of the legations of friendly powers; and that without waiting for the ratifications of the convention, the preliminary measures having reference to the cutting off of the communications by sea between Egypt and Syria, the transport of troops, &c., from one province to the other, and the support of those Syrian subjects of the sultan, who might wish to return to their allegiance, should be executed with the least possible delay. It was also solemnly declared "that in the execution of the engagements, resulting to the contracting parties from the above-mentioned convention, those powers will seek no augmentation of territory, no exclusive influence, no commercial advantage for their subjects, which those of every other nation may not equally obtain."

Within two days after this treaty was signed, it was communicated to France; and the moment intelligence of this event reached Paris, the French government, under the dictation of M. Thiers, took it up as an unpardonable insult and injury to the French nation. M. Thiers was fully informed, down to the very hour in which the treaty was signed, of everything done by the four powers. He knew officially the results of all their conferences: he was prepared for the result of those conferences in the conclusion of a convention. He distinctly refused to become a party to the arrangements proposed by the four powers: and yet, when they were completed without his concurrence, he declares that ordinary

courtesy, as well as official formality, had been set aside; and that because M. Guizot was not invited to be present at the signature of the convention, to which his name was not to be subscribed, therefore the four powers, and especially England, the great moving power on this occasion, had purposely, by their course of proceeding, intended to strike a fatal blow against the honour of France.

The French ministerial organs in the press, forthwith sounded the tocsin, and in a few days it would seem as if all the French people were burning to take up arms, and precipitate themselves *en masse* upon our shores, in order to revenge the insult thus alleged to have been deliberately offered to their country. Council after council of the ministers was held. Ordonnances were issued for creating and equipping an armament consisting of one million of men. Orders were given for providing 500,000 muskets, and 1,800 pieces of artillery a-year, independently of the supply already collected in the arsenals, and actually distributed amongst the French troops, of both arms. Powder and projectiles, and all sorts of munitions of war, were directed to be amassed without any regard to expense. In addition to these preparations, measures were also taken for greatly increasing the French navy. All the ports were to be put into a complete state of defence; and, above all, the project, said to have been entertained by Napoleon, and warmly cherished by Louis Philippe, of erecting detached forts around Paris, was directed to be put into execution. The lines of the new fortifications were actually laid out,—the president of the council with a grand cavalcade rode over them, and the world was told that within a few days a hundred thousand hands were to be employed in raising the bulwarks, which were to astonish, and confound, and defy, the “new coalition against France!”

It is understood that M. Thiers had prepared a despatch, directing M. Guizot to quit London without further ceremony, and return to Paris. But to this step the king decidedly objected, and it was arranged that the ambassador should go over to France to meet his Majesty and M. Thiers (who much desired to play the part of viceroy over him), at Eu. M. Guizot frankly stated, at that meeting, that he saw no violation of ordinary courtesy or form in the proceedings which had taken place. It was, perhaps, to have been expected, from the intimate alliance which had so long subsisted between England and France, that the treaty should have been communicated by the former to the latter some hours sooner than

it had been; and that it should have been accompanied by some expressions of regret, that France, on this occasion, had chosen to absent herself from the counsels of her ally. But in what had taken place he saw no real ground of grievance. M. Thiers, appears, however, to have still remained unconvinced, but the king was satisfied, and M. Guizot returned to his post.

The first official notice which the French ambassador took of the treaty, appears in a memorandum, delivered by him to Lord Palmerston, on the 24th of July. It is a very remarkable paper, inasmuch as it shows how little M. Thiers was prepared for the energy with which Lord Palmerston had already prepared to carry into effect the preliminary measures pointed out in one of the protocols annexed to the convention. The memorandum, after contending that the whole convention was ill-conceived, declared that France was unfriendly to coercive steps against the Pasha, because she could not distinctly see the means which the five Powers (the five parties to the treaty), could dispose of. The only means she could see, appeared to her to be "either insufficient or more injurious than the state of things to be remedied." "France again declares," says this precious document, "that she considers as inconsiderate, and not very prudent, a conduct which shall consist in coming to resolutions without the means of carrying them into execution, or with means of execution insufficient or dangerous."

Words so puerile as these could hardly be supposed to have passed current under the revision of M. Guizot. Was it to be supposed that the eminent statesmen who held counsel together for the formation of the convention, and for the arrangement of the mode in which it was to be put into execution, should be such dolts as not to see the difficulties which they had to conquer, and to prepare the means of attaining their object?

"The insurrection," adds M. Guizot, "of some of the people of Lebanon, is, no doubt, an opportunity which it has been thought might be seized for finding means of execution which had not before been presented. Is this a mean avowable, or, above all, so useful that the Turkish empire ought to act upon it against the viceroy? It is desired to re-establish some little degree of order and obedience in all parts of the empire, and yet insurrections are fomented. New disorders are added to that general disorder, which all the powers already deplore, as contrary to the interests of peace. Will they succeed in subjecting these people to the Porte, after exciting them to rise against

the viceroy? These questions have certainly not been resolved. But, if this insurrection be repressed—if the viceroy becomes again the assured possessor of Syria—if he thereby becomes more irritated, more difficult to persuade, and he answers to their summons by a positive refusal, what are the means of the four powers? Certainly, after having employed a whole year in seeking for them, they cannot have discovered them recently, and a new danger will have been created more serious than before. The viceroy, excited by the means employed against him—the viceroy, whom France has contributed to restrain, may pass the Taurus, and again threaten Constantinople. What will the four powers do in this case? In what manner will they enter the empire in order to give succour to the sultan? France conceives that thereby there is prepared for the independence of the Ottoman empire, and for the general peace, a danger much more serious than that with which they were threatened from the ambition of the viceroy. If all these eventualities, the consequence of the conduct about to be adopted, have not been provided for, the four powers will be engaged in an obscure and perilous path; if, on the contrary, they have been foreseen, and the means of meeting them agreed upon, then the four powers ought to make them known to Europe, and above all to France, who has always taken part in the common object—to France, whose moral concurrence they still claim—whose influence at Alexandria they invoke."

To designate as an "insurrection," the efforts of the people of Lebanon to rid themselves of the cruel and intolerable yoke of a tyrannical usurper, is rather a peculiar mode of treating the question of Syria, especially when we remember that the phrase comes from one of the leading representatives of the revolution of 1830. The expectation, that after France had repeatedly declared that she would be no party to any coercive measures against Mehemet Ali, she should, nevertheless, have been consulted as to the expediency, and the extent, and the precise nature of those measures, does certainly betray a tone of feeling upon her part, which is not consistent with her position in Europe, still less with the relation in which, by her close junction with the pasha, she had placed herself towards the contracting powers. Was France to be consulted respecting military and naval operations in which she declined to take any part? Had she been so consulted, what would have happened? Prolongation of the negotiations; loss of time for bringing the question to an issue; the approach of winter, when the Syrian coasts could not have been blockaded; and the necessary suspension of effective proceedings, until France should have found the means of rendering assistance to Ibrahim Pasha. Lord Palmerston was not to be duped by pretexts of

this description, especially at a period when he was well aware that M. Thiers was using every possible exertion, with a view to detach Austria and Prussia from the new alliance; an underhand manœuvre, which of itself, stamps the incapacity of M. Thiers for the arduous office which, for the misfortune of France, had been placed in his hands.

Meanwhile, due steps were taken for putting to the test of action, the very "insufficient," "injurious," "inconsiderate," "imprudent" executive measures, authorized by the sanction of the ministers engaged in arranging the Eastern question; and on the memorable 9th of September, the guns of the Cyclops steamer announced the commencement of hostilities between the allies and Mehemet Ali, he having refused the offers which they had caused to be made to him. "Boats without number passing and repassing, signals flying, drums beating to quarters, the shrill whistle of the boatswain," soon proved that British tars and marines were not idle listeners to their own trumpet of war. *Napier was there.* The line of operations taken up by the British squadron, under the command of Admiral Stopford, extended from Tripoli to Caffa, beyond Acre. Ibrahim Pasha, with nearly 8,000 men, was in sight. At, or near Beyrout, were 7,000 more, under the direction of Solyman Pasha, (Seves, a French officer.) Imagining that a landing of the Turkish and Austrian troops, and British marines prepared for the purpose, would have been attempted to the south of Beyrout, Seves shewed himself in force in that quarter. In a few moments, 1,000 of his men were literally mowed down by the British fire. The landing was effected, without any loss, at two points, from ten to fifteen miles distant to the north of Beyrout, of 5,000 Turks, 500 Austrians, and 1,500 British marines; and in less than thirty hours from the discharge of the first gun from the Cyclops, a strong position was taken up on different heights, the allied troops being disposed in a semicircle, which, we have not heard that either Ibrahim or Seves ventured to attack, although it is supposed that Ibrahim might have moved against them a force of not less, upon the lowest calculation, than 30,000 men. The "insurgents," as M. Guizot styles subjects of the sultan, anxious to defend the rights of their legitimate master, hastened to the allied camp, where they were abundantly supplied with arms. The intended movements of Ibrahim towards Asia Minor and Constantinople, were at once rendered impracticable, and in a short time the Taurus will be covered with snow. 10,000 troops were about

to be added from Constantinople to the force already collected on the Syrian coast. So much for the *vain* "resolutions" of the allies—so much for the "insufficiency" of the measures by which the convention was to be carried into effect. When we read of these measures as already actually accomplished, the profound memorandum delivered by M. Guizot to Lord Palmerston does undoubtedly become the most ludicrous state paper that ever escaped from the pen of a minister! And this is the minister—M. Thiers—the "indispensable!" the "matchless!" ruler to whom the destinies of France have been confided!

Facts are indeed stubborn things. They speedily brought Mehemet Ali to his senses. His obstinacy deprived him of all the advantages which the convention offered for his acceptance. The sultan (without indeed consulting the representatives of the Porte, as he ought to have done) deposed him even from the pashalic of Egypt, and then came an "additional note" from M. Thiers, dated the 8th of October, informing the world, that all of a sudden the "grave question" of the east "had assumed an aspect altogether new:"—that Mehemet Ali "had submitted himself to the will of his august master; that he accepted the hereditary possession of Egypt; and that he placed himself, with respect to the remainder of the territories actually in his occupation, entirely at the magnanimity of the Sultan."

Such was the extraordinary haste with which M. Thiers proceeded, in order to create an impression that this proceeding on the part of the Pasha was entirely to be attributed to the "pressing recommendations of France," that a translation of it was actually forwarded from Paris for insertion in a London journal, before the note itself was delivered to the courier who was to be the bearer of it to M. Guizot! This document requires to be examined with particular attention.

"We have made known," says M. Thiers, "to the British cabinet, the interpretation which must be put upon this mode of expressing himself; and although Mehemet Ali would not consent to declare immediately the full extent of the concessions to which he had been led to agree by the pressing recommendations of France, we have taken it upon ourselves to make them known, and we have announced that the viceroy resigns himself to the necessity of accepting the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, and the possession during his life of Syria; at the same time consenting to abandon immediately Candia, Adana, and the Holy Cities. We must also add, that had the Porte adhered to this arrangement, we would at once have consented to guarantee its fulfil-



ment, in concert with the powers which are occupied in determining the future condition of the Ottoman Empire. Every enlightened mind was struck with the loyalty of France, who, notwithstanding she was forced to proceed on a separate path, never ceased to exercise her influence to bring about a solution, at once moderate and pacific, of the Oriental question; nor has the wisdom which guided the Viceroy in listening to the dictates of prudence and moderation been less appreciated by the high intelligences of Europe."

The "We" in the commencement of this passage must not pass unnoticed. It is not "The king's government," or "His Majesty's government," but *we*—that is M. Thiers in fact alone, pluralising himself, as is the fashion with editors of public journals, or rather indeed affecting the style of Napoleon when first consul—a style by no means courteous towards Louis Philippe, especially in a document of the highest importance as a state paper. This *we* carries with it throughout the whole note an air of peculiar arrogance.

M. Thiers then assumes to himself the right of limiting this general submission of the viceroy to a particular extent; which extent, Mehemet Ali, who sinks here into a mere satrap of France, would not, forsooth, "consent to declare immediately," but which M. Thiers takes it upon himself to proclaim—viz. the abandonment of the possessions mentioned, the retention of Syria for life, and of Egypt as an hereditary sovereignty. It is very remarkable, that if M. Thiers had previously known the disposition of Mehemet Ali to content himself with the specific terms here set forth, he did not announce them to the powers before so many lives were sacrificed on the Syrian coast. It is still more unfortunate that after disclosing his intentions on this subject to France, the viceroy did not at once direct his son to discontinue all warlike proceedings. The notion of M. Thiers, that he would "guarantee" the fulfilment of such an arrangement, in concert with the powers, is a new element altogether in the history of the late negotiations. To permit the French government to be the guarantee of the viceroy for any course of policy whatever, would be at once to install Egypt as a mere province of France; an open, unqualified recognition of a right on the part of France, to act as the real director of the destinies of the hereditary pashalic. We strongly suspect that Mehemet Ali has been no consenting party to the assumption of any such responsibility by M. Thiers. We presume, moreover, that Lord Palmerston is already sufficiently aware of the value of any kind of guarantee tendered by a French minister, not to accept such a security,

even if he would permit it to be offered. It is a well-known principle in France—if principle the contempt for all principle can be called—that no French government, or minister, is answerable for the promises, or guarantees, of their predecessors.

It must be confessed, we think, by the most impartial mind, that the tone and language adopted by M. Thiers in the following paragraph, are extremely objectionable, in every point of view.

“In reply to these concessions, the Porte, either acting spontaneously, or else swayed by hasty and inconsiderate counsels, proffered on the spot at the moment—the Porte, I repeat—before any reference could be made to the allied powers, replied to the submissive answer of the viceroy, by declaring his deposition. Such a step, equally outrageous and unexpected, goes beyond even the spirit of the treaty of July 15, and exceeds also the most extraordinary results which might have been expected to arise out of that document. This treaty, which France was not able to invoke, inasmuch as she had never adhered to or recognised it, but which she now brings into notice, for the purpose of showing the rapidity with which the subscribing parties have been drawn into its most dangerous consequences—this treaty, in the event of an absolute refusal on the part of the viceroy to comply with one and all of its conditions, gave the Porte the faculty of withdrawing its first proposals, and of acting as it might deem most advantageous to its interests, according to the counsels of the allied powers. But still there were two supposed contingencies involved in this treaty—namely, an absolute and peremptory refusal on every one of the points contained in it, on the part of the Viceroy, and a consequent reference to the four powers for advice. Nothing of the kind, however, has taken place. The viceroy has not offered an absolute refusal, and the sultan has not even given himself the time to concert a reply in conjunction with his allies. He met unhopcd-for concessions by an act of deposition!

“The four powers could not approve of such conduct, and we KNOW IN EFFECT THAT SEVERAL OF THEM HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED THEIR DISAPPROBATION OF IT. Lord Palmerston has caused a communication to be made to our cabinet, that we must only look upon this proceeding in the light of a threat (*comminatoire*) without any necessary or effective consequences. The Count d’Appony, in an interview which I had with him on this subject, announced to me that the same opinion was entertained by his cabinet of the proceeding. We have willingly taken cognizance of this wise intimation, and we now seize the opportunity of stating the intentions of France with respect to this matter.”

To describe the conduct of the Sultan as “swayed by hasty and inconsiderate counsel,” “outrageous and unexpected,” is

clearly to set himself up as the champion of the Pasha, and the opponent of the legitimate master of Syria. This is not the part of a disinterested mediator, nor even of a power sincerely "proceeding in a separate path" from the four powers in these transactions. By a "separate path" was meant, we presume, a course tending in a direction parallel to their career, and not in one opposed to that direction, with a view to accomplish the same object. The allies, of course, could not suffer France to set herself up under the character of a protector of the vassal against his sovereign. Nevertheless, this was clearly the character to which M. Thiers aspired; nothing could better display his excessive vanity, and his utter incapacity for the office with which he was invested, than this most impetuous, and most wanton exhibition of personal temper, and sheer insolence.

Then follows a long string of superficial sophistries, with a view to shew that the integrity of the Ottoman empire is absolutely essential to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and yet that this integrity would be best consulted by separating from the Porte one of the richest provinces of which it ought to be composed.

"France has declared that she will use every means in her power to preserve the peace and the balance of power in Europe. Now is the time for her to explain clearly what meaning this declaration is to have. In accepting, with a religious fidelity, the state of Europe, such as it is settled by existing treaties, France has understood, that during the general peace which has happily prevailed since 1815, this state should not be changed, either for the profit or to the detriment of any one of the existing powers. It has been under this impression that she has always declared in favour of preserving the Ottoman empire; the Turkish people, by their national qualities, amply merited, on their own account alone, respect for the independence of that kingdom; but apart from this consideration, the dearest interests of Europe were bound up in the continued existence of Turkey. This empire, in being prostrated, could only be made subservient to the aggrandizement of the adjoining states, to the detriment of the general equilibrium, and her fall would have occasioned such a change in the existing proportions of the great powers, as to have altered the aspect of the globe altogether. France, and the other powers in common with her, so strongly felt this contingent result, that she, in concert with her allies, has constantly and loyally united in maintaining the Ottoman empire, however deeply their respective interests might be involved relatively to the preservation or fall of that kingdom.

"But the integral portion of the Ottoman empire spreads itself from the shores of the Black to those of the Red Sea. It is as essential to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Syria, as the inde-

prudence of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. A Prince vassal has succeeded in establishing a firm rule in two provinces, which during a long period the Sultans of Constantinople were unable to govern. This Prince vassal, if he has not been able to introduce into the countries which he governs, the humanity which distinguishes European civilization, and which probably would ill comport with the present manners of the country he administers, has, at least, introduced a greater degree of order and regularity in them than exists in any other part of the Turkish empire. He has found the means to levy a public force; he has raised troops and he has created a fleet; he has roused the pride of the Ottoman people, and he has restored to them somewhat of that confidence in themselves which it is indispensable for a nation to possess, in order to be able to defend and maintain its independence. This Prince vassal has become, according to our view, an essential and necessary part of the Ottoman empire. If he be destroyed, the empire will not the more acquire, now-a-days, the means which were formerly wanting to enable the sultan to govern Syria and Egypt; and the Porte will lose a vassal who is, at this moment, one of its principal bulwarks. Other pashas will succeed, who will be disobedient to their masters, and who will be the dependants of every foreign influence. In a word, one portion of the integral Turkish empire will be compromised, and, together with this, the general equilibrium will be endangered. In the opinion of France, the existence of the viceroy of Egypt in the countries which he governs, and in the seas where his power is exerted, is essential for the purpose of ensuring the proportions as they actually exist, between the different parts of the globe.

"In this conviction, France, equally disinterested in the Oriental question with the four powers who have signed the protocol of September 17, believes herself to be under the necessity of declaring that the deposition of the Viceroy, if put in force, will be, in her estimation, a blow given to the general equilibrium."

All this tirade is intended, we presume, as a kind of protest against the proceedings of the allies—an effort to cover, with some shreds of dignity, the vacillating and sinister course of policy which M. Thiers had hitherto pursued with reference to the eastern question. Having found himself deprived by that course, of the power of even concerting with the allies the regulation of the future fate of the contending parties—after he had attempted to arrange the whole affair by his own sole authority—he shrinks off as well as he can from the scene of debate, muttering to himself, in low but angry accents, much more indicative than he could have wished anybody to witness, of the deeply mortified feelings which were raging in his bosom. "At all events, then," he exclaims, "Egypt shall exist as an independent state, under the 'Prince vassal.'" A

new and swaggering title, which M. Thiers has invented for his protégé. Let the existing war go to what extent it will—let blood continue to be effused—let the treasure and the energies of the sultan and the rebel be squandered through campaign after campaign, still the act of deposition shall not be carried into effect, even though Ibrahim and his troops should prolong their resistance to the last!

This, therefore, is the *casus belli* laid down by M. Thiers. Assume that the success of the allies in Syria be as ample as they could desire, and that this success be obtained by hard fighting against Ibrahim, nevertheless the conquerors are to be told by France, “thus far you may go, but no farther;” if you attempt to maintain and enforce the deposition of Mehemet from his Egyptian pashalic, it will be by us considered as an aggression upon France, and we shall oppose it by force of arms. We consider the integrity of the Egyptian pashalic as essential to the balance of power as the integrity of the Ottoman empire itself. Let us read M. Thiers’ denunciations upon this point.

“The question with respect to the limits which ought to be established in Syria, in order to divide the possessions of the sultan from those of the viceroy of Egypt, *might with safety be left to the chances of the war now actually in progress*, but France cannot prevail upon herself to abandon to such a chance the existence of Mehemet Ali as prince vassal of the empire. Whatever territorial limits may ultimately separate the two powers, by the fortune of war, their continued double existence is necessary to Europe, and France cannot consent to admit the suppression either of the one or the other. Disposed as she is to enter upon and take part in every acceptable arrangement which shall have for its basis the double guarantee of the existence of the sultan and that of the viceroy of Egypt, she confines herself at present to the declaration on her part, that she cannot consent to the carrying into execution of the act of deposition pronounced at Constantinople.

“In other respects the spontaneous manifestations of several of the powers who have signed the treaty of July 15, prove to us that in this respect we understand the term, ‘balance of Europe,’ in the same sense that they do, and that in this respect their views are not at variance with ours. We should regret this disagreement, which as yet we do not perceive, but we could in nowise swerve from this manner of comprehending and of assuring the maintenance of that equilibrium.

“France entertains the hope that Europe will appreciate the motives by which she has been induced to break the silence hitherto preserved by her. Her love of peace may be relied upon, as that senti-

ment has constantly animated her, notwithstanding the proceedings of which she believes she has a right to complain. Her disinterestedness may also be relied upon, for it is not possible even to suspect her of aspiring to any acquisitions of territory in the East. What she does aspire to is the maintenance of the equilibrium of Europe. This is also the care of the great powers in common with her, and it ought to form at once the object of their glory and of their ambition. Accept, &c.

(Signed)

"A. THIERS."

After this bravado, M. Thiers despatches a certain number of interrogatories to Lord Palmerston, and demands to know what would England do in case the allied arms should succeed in expelling Ibrahim Pasha from Syria? To which Lord Palmerston replies very quietly, that the proceedings of the allies must entirely depend on the conduct of Mehemet Ali. Thus providing for a case which might happen, and actually has happened, namely, the obstinate resistance of Ibrahim, until almost every town and fortress on the coast, including Beyrout, Sidon, and others, has either surrendered, or been forced to surrender to the indomitable valour of the allied troops. It is at this moment questionable, whether the deposition of Mehemet Ali ought not to be carried into full effect, seeing the course of conduct which he has pursued, in submitting himself to the magnanimity of the sultan, and at the same time continuing to wage against him a most sanguinary war. The *casus belli*, however, has since fallen to the ground, by what we may call the deposition of M. Thiers himself. The would-be dictator of France has been shorn of his authority, after having rekindled the revolutionary spirit throughout France; and by his insane course of policy—his decreeing the erection of fortresses round Paris—his arming an immense host at a most enormous expense—made himself, his policy, and his country, the derision of all Europe!

The great object of the new ministry will be, to undo every thing which M. Thiers has done; and, above all, to appease, if they can—otherwise to crush by means of superior force—the revolutionary excitement, which was the result of his wild proceedings. Had he unfortunately remained much longer in power, it would have become absolutely necessary for the powers to lose not a moment in turning their triumphant arms against France itself. Nor was this contingency, we apprehend, unforeseen by Lord Palmerston. He could not but have felt long since, that the whole course of French policy, since the capture of Algiers, has been one continued aspiration towards universal authority; supplanting, and,



wherever it could, injuring and interrupting British trade; and, more than once, insulting our national honour.

The attitude of France at this moment is undoubtedly one which is any thing but enviable. We deeply regret it. It is not for the interests of civilization, that a great country, possessing every quality fitting her to shine out as the mistress of every science, art, and accomplishment, by which human existence is improved and embellished, should have been thus reduced, by the vanity and the blunders of a charlatan, to the degraded position which she is now obliged to occupy. Isolated from all Europe, at a moment when her true policy would have placed her amongst the rulers of the world; stripped of her natural and just influence in the counsels of the great nations, when she might have been a distinguished leader in their deliberations; sacrificing, for a mere sound of rhetorical grandeur, a real grandeur which was well worth preserving; she remains, once more, just as much broken down and mortified as she was in 1815. The incapacity and the insolence of one man, has brought upon her another Waterloo; and it is a striking circumstance, that the manes of Napoleon should, at the moment, have gone back to France to witness the second downfall of that domineering spirit, of which he was, in life, the illustrious champion. May it be a final lesson to that country! May it teach her that her ambition is much too vast for the measure of her power, and that she only demoralizes her government, retards the march of constitutional liberty throughout Europe, and trifles wantonly with the happiness of a very large portion of mankind, as often as she attempts to realize those turbulent dreams of supremacy, which seem periodically to disturb and madden her glorious intellectual faculties.

The conduct of the whole British people throughout these late international debates, has been in every country, not even excepting France, the theme of unqualified and well-deserved eulogy. The lion, although the din of warlike preparations has been constantly sounding in his ears, and thousands of infuriated voices have been provoking him to battle, still lay in outstretched repose; not unobservant of the bustle that was going on around him, but waiting, with his characteristic dignity, for the moment when he ought, if it should become necessary, to rouse his dormant energies to action. It would be a great injustice not to acknowledge the consummate skill, the true statesmanlike superiority of view, the activity and success with which Lord Palmerston has discharged his duties,

on an occasion which presented more perplexing questions for rapid solution, than ever before put to proof the talents of a British minister.

Nor ought we to omit a tribute of admiration to the valour of the troops—especially of our own marines—who have been engaged in the military operations which have resulted in the rapid, almost instantaneous, capture of fortresses, that, in the age of the Crusades, cost months and years, and thousands of lives, to the parties invading them. History records few actions—those performed by our troops in India only excepted—which display more intrepidity, science, and entire success than those lately performed on the Levantine coast. Napier proved a host in himself. His conduct at Sidon will bear comparison with anything we had previously heard or read of the heroes of chivalry. General Jochmus, a soldier of fortune, who has fought with distinguished reputation in the fields of Greece and Spain, was well worthy of being the companion, almost the rival in arms, of Napier, in these splendid achievements. The utility of the steam-ship as an arm of war can no longer be questioned, after the events which have crowned the policy of the allies with such complete triumph. For the landing of troops on a hostile shore, they have been proved invaluable. After making, in the open day, a demonstration on one point, and attracting thither the main force of the enemy, they can quietly wheel around in the course of the night, and debark the troops at any distance they please. A few hours are sufficient to turn an encampment into a stronghold, and should the position be attacked by superior force, the wonderful machine is at hand to cover their retreat, and convey them to a place of safety. Wars may thus be commenced and concluded in a single campaign which formerly extended themselves through many a tedious year.

P.S.—We had written so far when the speech of the King of the French, on opening the new session, came under our observation. We feel truly gratified at finding in it an entire realization of all the hopes we had entertained as to the maintenance of peace in Europe. It is the production of a master-mind. Every syllable of it appears evidently to have come from the hand of Louis Philippe himself. What a dignified contrast does it present to the *notes* of M. Thiers! What rebukes does it heap upon the frothy, drunken compositions of the would-be leader of new revolutions! The King has nobly flung himself on the bosom of all that is sound in mind and heart in France. We dare to predict that he will be vigor-

ously supported, and that the war—in more appropriate words, the anarchical—faction, will speedily perish before the withering sternness of this speech, than which never was one uttered from a French throne more suitable to the necessities of the occasion that called it forth.\*

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ART. IX.—*Epigramma Greco-Cristiano de' primi secoli, &c.*  
—*Greek-Christian Epigram of the first centuries, lately found near the ancient Augustodunum, now Autun, in France; restored where necessary, and commented on by Father John P. Secchi, of the Society of Jesus.* Rome: 1840.

TWO words of preface must keep our readers waiting, before we enter upon the interesting little work before us.

The first regards the science of which it treats. The Christian archæology of the earliest centuries is a branch of sacred study hardly cultivated, as yet, out of Italy, and having its seat and centre in eternal Rome. Even whatever the Mabillons and Montfaucons may have done for it, must be considered as only emanations from that source. This is quite reasonable. Geology could not have sprung up in the midst of the Sahara, where one stratum of unfathomable as well as immeasurable sand presents no variety of physical features; and no more could the study of primeval Christian monuments have arisen, or have been cultivated, where they existed not to attract attention, and to furnish materials for application. Italy possesses, in almost every part, some remnants of the earliest Christian ages. Verona is rich in inscriptions; Milan has its Ambrosian monuments; Brescia contains many curious objects; Ravenna is a perfect Christian museum; city and suburbs are full of splendid edifices of the first Christian ages, churches erected or embellished by Justinian, Valentinian, or Galla Placidia. The domestic chapel, built by St. Peter Chrysologus, still serves, without any essential alteration, his worthy successor the present saintly archbishop; and the beautiful frescoes of Giotto have faded away or have been peeled off by damp, from the church of *Sta. Maria in Porto fuori*; while the mosaics of double their age, in the apsis of the neighbouring basilica of *St. Apollinare in Classe*, display as yet almost their original freshness. But all the monumental riches of these, and all other Italian cities

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\* Our Catholic readers will turn with great satisfaction to the admirable speech of the Comte Montalembert, in support of the preservation of the peace of Europe.

together, are poor, compared with what Rome alone comprehends in her ancient walls and suburban territory. Not a link is wanting in her series. She begins with the altar of the apostle St. Peter, enshrined in the high altar of St. John Lateran, with his chair and his very ashes—the glory of the Vatican, with the persons of himself and his brother apostle Paul, and with the places of their martyrdom. From these she conducts the devout pilgrim through the mazes of catacombs and crypts, the dormitories of saints, the chambers of martyred pontiffs; she points out to him the altars mixed with tombs, the paintings that conceal sepulchres, the baptisteries still fed by pure subterranean streams,\* all the evidences of that mixture of joy and of sorrow, of resignation and anxiety; of life and death in the same spot, which characterises so powerfully to the mind, and to the feelings, that early state of persecution in which the Catholic Church was so long kept. Then her monuments begin to creep above ground; her *confessions*, or tombs of martyrs (yea, such martyrs as Laurence or Agnes), communicate at once below with the catacombs, of which they are a part, and above with the splendid churches that overshadow them. Through these venerable entrances we gain the upper sphere, and pass, by a natural transition, from chapels to churches, from catacombs to basilicas. We stay not now to draw comfort from this contrast, as applied to ourselves at this moment. We fancy we could show many symptoms of a similar transition, from the chapel to the church, in our present sacred edifices, and a not dissimilar one from bye-lanes to public streets; nay, if we are rightly informed, Birmingham, at this moment, presents an example of a magnificent church springing over one low sunk in the ground, and now forming its crypt. But we pass by these reflections now, to proceed with our antiquarian walk. The name of Constantine, recorded as the founder of many Roman basilicas, gives us the earliest possible date for the erection of great Christian edifices, and assures us of the next step in our monumental chronology of ancient Christianity. True it, unfortunately, is, that Vandals, ancient and modern,

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\* As in the Cemetery of Pontianus, on the Via Portuensis, a road particularly dear to us. Over the square baptistery, cut out of the rock and filled with beautiful running water, deep enough for immersion, is a painting of our Lord's baptism. Beside it is a painting of SS. Abdon and Sennen, whose bodies are, or were, here. See an interesting account of the discovery of this catacomb by the discoverer Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 125; or by Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, tom. i. p. 375.

whether wielding the sword or the compasses, whether destroying or repairing, have removed much, and left comparatively little, of what we revere; but still the granite columns or the porphyry wainscoting, the pavement or the outer walls remain; and when all has been covered and whitewashed, the site, with its secure tradition, the shrine, with its certain relics, remains unchanged, to carry back the feeling mind to the age in which the trenches for the foundations of the buildings were opened by an imperial hand, or the sacred deposit laid beneath its altar by a saintly pontiff. After this period, the work of tracing out the visitor's course becomes too complicated for us to undertake it. Every *region* of the city has its claims upon his next attention, every gate invites him—not unallured by the smiling hills that win him forward—to make a pilgrimage of every excursion, and pause on his way at one or more of the hallowed spots, which a large church, or a chapel, or a simple inscription by the road-side, recommends to his devout attention.

While our pen, almost unguided, has been rapidly tracing these paragraphs, our mind has been wandering over the scenes they record. We have revisited them all in spirit, and many more which we have not here set down. We have, in the last few minutes, threaded many a subterranean labyrinth with no other clue than memory; stopping here at an angle where the wall of sand is cut away, to admit the pale sepulchral lamp, which lighted the diverging corridors; peeping into half-opened tombs, in which every bone yet lies in its place, unremoved because wanting any token of martyrdom; have read the names of saints beside their effigies painted in the little chapels,—the squares of those subterranean streets. We have almost leapt from sanctuary to sanctuary, with that rapidity, which the imagination itself can only have when the affections lend it wings; have recalled to our minds the exact forms, the nicely-distinguishing features of each, their specific treasures of art and of holiness; we have peopled them for their festival-days, we have worshipped in them in twilight solitude; and we now awake from our trance, to apologize to our readers for having imagined that we could draw others after us as fast as we run ourselves, over a ground which it requires years of familiar and loving intercourse to know as it deserves; years of that intercourse which makes the very stones of a standing temple as dear as were the dispersed ones of Sion's sanctuary to the Israelite, and which gives us friendship for unspeaking forms. It will be, at least, allowed

to be perfectly natural, that such persons as have once conceived these feelings, and have nourished them, will soon turn their intelligence in the same direction as their hearts; and not content with admiring, will be anxious to understand. Hence it was not long after the revival of good letters, before works of great learning were composed, to illustrate the early Christian monuments of Rome. The names of Aringhi, Bottari, Bosio, Boldetti, Marangoni, Ciampini, and many others of the same class, are well known to the lovers of these interesting pursuits. We believe Rome to be the only city which, in its theological schools, has a chair of Christian archæology, or has a museum, like that of the Vatican Library, exclusively devoted to it.

The Pontificate of Benedict XIV was particularly favourable to the prosecution of this study. That great Pontiff, himself well versed in it, encouraged the researches of other learned men; and though, unfortunately, the bad taste which prevailed in his time (though not quite so bad as in the period immediately preceding), has caused his name and arms to stand upon ancient buildings, sadly modernized, he well knew how to appreciate and preserve what was old and venerable. The calamities of a later period led, perhaps, to some relaxation in the prosecution of this study, though the names of Marini, Cancellieri, and Visconti, may wipe off much of this imputation. But the present Pontiff, having founded and richly furnished three classical museums, the Egyptian, the Etruscan, and the Lateran, could not be supposed indifferent to that most akin to his own pursuits, and most especially his own, he being the Bishop to whom the preservation of the sacred monuments of his see officially belongs. Accordingly, he has enriched the Christian Museum beyond all his immediate predecessors; he has added to it seals, rings, plate, and books; and he has created in it a totally new department, already admirably fitted up, of old sacred paintings. This attention, on his part, has naturally excited a new ardour for the pursuit, of corresponding application; and we believe we are not incorrect in saying that this month will see the publication of the first number of a work, to be continued monthly, illustrative of the sacred archæology of Rome. It will begin with statues and basreliefs, will then proceed to works in ivory and metal, and so descend to paintings, and other objects of religious purpose and interest.

This brings us to the second of our preliminary matters. It shall not be so prolix as our first. It is concerning the author



of the pamphlet which we desire to make known to our readers. Father Secchi is professor of Greek in the Roman College belonging to the Society of Jesus. He is yet young; and though he has not published any large works, he has acquired no small reputation by his able philological and antiquarian essays, chiefly contained in the *Archæological Annals*, published by a German association in Rome, and in other periodicals of that city. In the prosecution of his Greek studies he has gone beyond the limits of ordinary attainments, and has made himself master of Sanskrit, as an auxiliary to his grammatical researches. Now he, with F. F. Marchi, Tepieri, and one or two other members of his order, is chief promoter and prosecutor of this extraordinary most *jesuitical* plan of bringing before the public, and within the reach of all scholars, the ancient monuments of Christianity. So much for the supposition of Rome's interest in concealing the faith and practice of primitive times, and of the jesuits being anxious to discourage such prying researches, and keeping the people in ignorance and subjection.

After what we have said, it will not surprise our readers to find a Christian inscription of the early centuries, found in France, travelling to Rome to be decyphered, nor to see Father Secchi's name on our pamphlet as its interpreter. We shall pretend to do little more than follow him as our guide in this article.

The city of Autun, anciently *Bibracte*, afterwards *Augustodunum*, later, in compliment to the Flavii (Constantius Chlorus and Constantine), *Urbs Flavia*, finally called by the more enviable title of *Ædua Christi Civitas*, was celebrated, even under the early emperors, for its learning and schools. Under Constantius Chlorus, who called to teach in it, the celebrated rhetorician, afterwards his panegyrist, Eumenius, it was distinguished for its *scholæ Mænianæ*, a term perhaps not sufficiently explained. Christianity was early introduced into Autun, and soon took a vigorous root there. St. Benignus, its apostle, about the middle of the second century, found there a senatorial family already Christian. The head of this family was Faustus, who took advantage of the presence of the first missionaries to have his son Symphorian baptized. The youth, under the instruction of his father, and of his mother Augusta, grew up a model of Christian virtue. Persecution soon came to try the stability of the infant Church. From Lyons the fury of the heathens spread to Autun; several of its apostles fell, and Faustus and his son were most

assiduous in collecting their blood and honouring their remains. At length the zeal of Symphorian could not be contained within such bounds: he insulted a public procession in honour of Cybele, was arrested, condemned; and, encouraged by his pious mother, died with constancy.\*

The usual refuge of the Christians in time of persecution was the cemeteries or tombs. The first assemblies of Christians at Autun were held in a cemetery on the public road, apart from the town. There in process of time several churches were built, of which the principal one was that of St. Peter; from it the cemetery is to this day called of *S. Pierre l'Estrées (a via strati)*. It became subsequently a place of devout pilgrimage; and, among others, St. Augustine our apostle, St. Germanus, and St. Gregory of Tours, are recorded to have visited it. The French revolution finished what previous neglect had in part prepared, the total destruction, or rather annihilation, of every vestige of monuments on this venerable spot. Still the cemetery exists, inasmuch as inscriptions and tombs are often brought to light, sufficient to determine the place and its destination. Of these inscriptions some are profane, so as to indicate the existence of a burial place before the Christians occupied it. Others are Christian; and of these undoubtedly the most interesting is the one which forms the subject of our article. It was found in the month of June of last year, by the worthy bishop of Autun, and the Abbé Découvoux, broken into nine fragments, of which two have not yet been found. The slab on which it is written bears the marks of the metal cramps by which it was once fastened to a wall or tomb. To cut short all minute descriptions, we have thought it better at once to present our readers with an exact copy, made upon a tracing from the original, as well as from the engraving first published of it in Paris.

Fortunately, the first part of the inscription, which is the most interesting to us, is the best preserved. The *lacuna* in the first line alone presents any serious difficulty. We will therefore at once give the entire inscription, as restored by F. Secchi, and as translated by him into corresponding Latin verses, referring to his work for his acute philological observations. It is as follows:—

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\* See the authorities for all these points, in an excellent article in the "Annales de Philosophie chrétienne;" March, 1840.

Ι Χ Θ Υ Ο Σ

Χ Ρ Η Σ Ε Λ Λ Α

Θ Ε Σ Π Ε Σ Ι Ω Ν

Υ Δ Α Σ Ι Ν Α Ε Ν Α Ο Ι Σ Π Λ Ο Υ Τ Ο Δ Ο Τ Ο Υ Σ Ο Φ Η Σ

Σ Ω Τ Η Ρ Δ Ε Α Γ Ω Ν Μ Ε Λ Ι Η Λ Λ Α Μ Β Ν Β Ρ

Ε Θ Ι Ε Π Ι Ν Δ Ι Ο Ν Ι Χ Ο Υ Ν Ε Χ Ω Ν Π Α Λ Λ Α Μ Α Ι Σ

Ι Χ Θ Υ Ι Χ Ι Σ Α Γ Α Λ Ι Α Χ Ι Ω Δ Ε Σ Π Ε Σ Ω Ι Σ

Ε Υ Ε Ι Δ Ε Ι Ν Μ Η Ρ Σ Ε Λ Π Α Ζ Ω Ε Φ Ω Τ Ο Θ Α Ν Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν

Α Χ Α Ν Δ Ι Ο Σ Ρ Τ Ω Μ Ω Ρ Ι Σ Ε Ν Ε Θ Υ Μ Ω

Σ Υ Ν Μ

Ι Ο Ν Γ Ε Ν Ο Σ Η Τ Ο Ρ Ι Σ Ε Μ Ν

Ν Α Μ Β Ρ Ο Τ Ο Μ Ε Ν Β Ρ Ο Τ Ε Ο Ι

Α Τ Η Ν Σ Η Ν Η Λ Ε Θ Α Π Ι Σ Ο Υ Χ

Σ Τ Ι Ε Μ Ο Ι Σ Ι Ν

Μ Η Ν Σ Ε Ο Π Ε Κ Τ Ο Ρ Ι Ο

ION GENOSHTORISEMN<sup>ω</sup>  
TAM BROTON EN BROTEOI<sup>c</sup>  
THNCHN<sup>φ</sup>ILΘAΠCOYX<sup>η</sup>  
LOUTOTOTOCOFHC  
CΛIHCΛΛ<sup>α</sup>MB<sup>α</sup>NOBPC  
NEXΩNΠA<sup>α</sup>MAIAC  
ΛXIΩΔECΠ<sup>ο</sup>TCΩIC  
CME<sup>φ</sup>CTOΘANONTN<sup>ω</sup>  
PICENEΘYMW  
CTIEMOICIN  
INHCEOPETOP<sup>ο</sup>TO

Ἰχθὺς ο[υρανίου θε]ῖον γένος ἦτορι σεμνῷ  
 Χρῆσε λαλῶ[νφωνη]ν ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτείῳ·  
 Θεσπεσίῳν ὑδά[τω]ν τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θάπτε ψυχὴν,  
 Ὑδασιν ἱερῶσις πλουτοδότου σοφίης·  
 Σωτήρος [δ'] ἁγίων μελιθῆα λάμβανε βρ[ῶμον],  
 Ἐσθιε, πίνε δ[υοί]ν ἰχθύν ἔχων παλάμαις.

Ἰχθυ χ[ηρε]ῖα [γ]αλιλαίῳ, δέσποτα Σῶτ[ερ],  
 Εὐειδέ[ιν] [μ]ητήρ σε, λίταζέ με, φῶς τὸ θανόντων.  
 Ἀσχάνδ[ε]ῖε [πα]τερ, τῷμῳ κε[χα]ρισμένε θυμῷ  
 Σὺν μ[ητρὶ γλυκερῇ, σύγε καὶ δακρ]ύοισιν ἰμοῖσιν  
 Ἰ[λασθεῖς νιοῦ σέο] μνήσσο Πεκτορίῳ

IXΘΥC, patre Deo Deus, immortalia sancto  
 Mortales, inter corde locutus ait:  
 Rite sacris animā sepelitor, amice, sub undis;  
 Dives ab æternis mente redibis aquis:  
 Sume cibum sanctis quem dat Servator alendis;  
 Mande, bibe, amplexens IXΘΥN utraque manu.  
 Orba viro mater galilæo pisce, Redemptor,  
 Cernere te prece me petiit, lux luce carentum  
 Aschandeus pater, vita mihi carior ipsa,  
 Tu cum matre mea, nato lacrymante, piatus  
 Pectorii, pater, ipse tui memor esto precantis.

We must content ourselves with a further translation into humble English prose:—"The divine offspring of the heavenly ἰχθύς (*fish*) in his sacred heart, spoke among mortals with his immortal voice—"Bury, friend, thy soul in the divine waters, the eternal waters of richest wisdom; and take the sweet food of the holy, which the Saviour gives; eat, drink, having the ἰχθύς in both your hands."

"Lord Saviour! the widow of a Galilean, ἰχθύς, my mother, entreated me to enjoy the sight of Thee, light of the departed! Aschandeus, my father! dearest to my soul, thou, with my dear mother, by my tears expiated, remember thy son Pectorius."

The inscription is, in truth, an epigram, divided into two parts. The first contains three distichs of hexameters and pentameters; the second five hexameters. The subjects of the two parts are likewise quite distinct. The former has reference to the mysteries of faith; the latter is the epitaph, probably, of the mother of the erector of the monument. The first portion has another peculiarity. The five first verses are acrostic, their initials composing the word IXΘΥC, of which we shall have to say a few words just now.

Before speaking of the doctrines contained in this epigram, it will be proper to say something concerning its age. The form of the letters, and some peculiarities in their disposition,

induce F. Secchi to attribute to it a great antiquity. A further argument may be drawn from its language. The Greek Church of Autun may be said to have been almost destroyed by the persecutions which assailed it soon after its establishment; when peace was restored to Christianity there, under Constantius, it flourished again, but as a Latin Church. A Greek epigram, therefore, in elegant verses, may reasonably be attributed to the former period. The place where it was found likewise confirms this supposition. It was amidst fragments of walls and Roman antiques, apparently of that earlier epoch. Several other considerations here come to our aid. First, the epithet *Galilean* is applied in the sense of Christian, to his father, by Pectorius. Now, this obliges us to consider the inscription anterior to the time of Julian the apostate, by whom this epithet was rendered infamous, so as not be thenceforth used by the Christians. Secondly, the dark and symbolical nature of the expressions, in speaking of the mysteries, indicates an earlier period of Christianity, when such reserve was more necessary. While upon this point, it will be desirable, perhaps, for some of our readers to be informed what is the meaning of the word which we have left untranslated, *ἰχθῦς*, literally *a fish*. In thus preserving it in its original language, we have only followed the example of the Latin fathers, who generally write it in Greek. Among the emblems upon Christian monuments, or rings, none is more common than a fish. Sometimes, instead of the representation, we have only the word written in large letters. There is no doubt that Christ is symbolised by the word or representation; still its origin is very doubtful. Three opinions concerning it prevailed in antiquity. The first was, that it was derived from the fish of Tobias, which symbolized Christ, by its efficacy in curing spiritual and corporal ills. This seems to have been the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, who uses the compound term *καλλιχθῦς*. The second deduced this symbol from the circumstance that the name was produced acrostically in five sybilline verses, which applied to Christ. Constantine and St. Augustine give this reason. The third is furnished by several fathers, who resolve the letters of the word into so many other words, commencing with those letters. St. Optatus thus explains it: "*Piscis nomen secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine, per singulas literas, turbam sanctorum nominum continet. ΙΧΘΥC enim latina est Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator.*"\* St. Augustine writes

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\* Adv. Parmen. lib. iii.



much in the same manner: "Græcorum quinque verborum quæ sunt Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, quod est latine *Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator*, si primas literas jungas, erit ΙΧΘΥΣ, id est *piscis*, in quo nomine mystice intelligitur Christus.\* It is possible that this acrostic explanation may have been an afterthought, to account for a symbol, whose origin was uncertain, and whose application was become problematic. Two things may, however, be added with tolerable certainty: that the term was occasionally even applied to Christians, and that the application was made with reference to their being born again of water. Hence the symbol, when found on a tomb, has sometimes been supposed to indicate the sepulchre of a catechumen, or a neophyte. These two points, which are very useful in explaining our inscription, seem to be clearly ascertainable from the following words of Tertullian: "Nos pisciculi secundum ΙΧΘΥΝ nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur."† In our inscription we seem to have the term so applied to Aschandeus, the father of Pectorius. From the whole tenor of the inscription, we should conjecture him to have died just after baptism. In this way we can better account for the first part of the epitaph, containing a mention of Christ's two-fold sacramental injunction—first, to be born again of water, and second, to eat of his flesh (baptism and the Eucharist being the two sacraments of new Christians); and thus we can explain the application of that mystical appellation to him. Let us now proceed to examine the dogmatical value of our inscription.

1. The two first lines, notwithstanding their *lacunæ*, give us a sufficiently clear testimony of the divine origin of the *Ichthus* or Christ, speaking as an immortal among mortals.

2. The second distich manifestly teaches the doctrine of baptism. The soul, and not the body, is commanded to be immersed in the sacred waters: those waters which bestow the gift of eternal life, and of choicest wisdom.

3. The third is still more interesting. "Take the honied food of saints, which your Saviour gives: eat, drink, having the ΙΧΘΥC (that is Christ) in both thy hands." In the foregoing distich the allusion to the symbol was couched under the invitation to plunge into the mystic waters: here the divine *ἰχθὺς* is to be taken into the hands, and himself, by one act, eaten and drunk. The reality of His presence could not be more clearly intimated in an inscription composed while the *disciplina arcani* was in full vigour, and forbade distinct

\* De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 23.

† De Baptismo, lib. ii. cap. ii. n. 2.

allusion to what was contained and received in the blessed Eucharist. At the same time, an additional proof may be drawn of the completeness of the act which receives Christ under only one form. We have been struck, moreover, by the contrast between the expression of this early Christian poet and that of a modern Anglican one, of the school that pretends to have returned to the pure doctrines of primitive Christianity.

"O come to our communion feast:  
There present in the heart,  
*Not in the hands*, th' eternal Priest  
Will his true self impart."\*

If we remember right, Mr. Froude criticises this expression, asking how we knew he was not *in the hands*, as well as in the heart. Our ancient Gallic Christian would have joined in the stricture, or rather has positively contradicted the assertion.

4. The great injury which the lower part of the stone has sustained, obliges us to be more cautious in drawing consequences from the inscription in that part. Still, whatever portion of the proposed restorations may be denied or questioned, these words remain sufficiently legible to admit of no doubt: Ἀσχανδῷ [ε]ἰς [πα]τερῶν μὲν κε[χα]ρίσμένη θυμῷ . . . μνησέο Πεκτορίῳ: "Father Aschandeus, dearest to my soul . . . remember Pectorius." We have clearly an appeal from the living to the dead, a prayer for remembrance from a son on earth to his parent in heaven.

5. If we admit the restorations, we must further add to the foregoing list, the power of expiating by the tears of the living the offences of the departed.

Our readers will, we are sure, admit that an inscription containing so many controverted points of doctrine, is a most valuable discovery. In fact, we consider it the most valuable Christian inscription yet discovered. It is the only one that alludes to the Eucharistic rite. One reflection will close our account of it. Every fresh discovery in primitive or early documents connected with the Christian religion, adds something new to our proofs of doctrine, nothing to the opinions of our opponents. We have much on hand to demonstrate this, which fitter opportunity will be given us to communicate. Suffice it to say, that whether a last work of a father come to light by the learned and systematic excavations of the indefatigable Cardinal Mai, or a new inscription is casually turned up, by a labourer's spade, in a Gallican cemetery, it will be sure to coincide in doctrine, in sentiment, and in phrase, with the belief and practice of the unfading, immortal Church.

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\* Keble's Christian Year, "Gunpowder Treason."

## FRENCH CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

*Le Guide du Catéchumène Vaudois*, 2 vols. 18mo. This work is from the pen of Monsignor Charvaz, bishop of Pignerol, whose admirable *Recherches Historiques sur la véritable origine des Vaudois*, we had occasion to review in our number for October 1837. That work treated of the origin and history of the Vaudois sect. As a large part of the population of his lordship's diocese belong to it, and as the work of converting them is rendered difficult, by their adhesion to many doctrines on which the usual books of instruction afford but little aid, he has composed the present work. It is in the form of familiar conversations, and is divided into five books. In the first, after a short introduction, he explains, in three conversations, the dispositions necessary for entering upon an inquiry respecting the true religion, and answers the objection of the Vaudois that by their baptismal vows, they are precluded from changing their faith. The fourth conversation introduces us to the opinions of the Vaudois themselves, regarding the origin of their sect, and places the subject of inquiry on its true grounds as a question of fact. In the fifth, Philalethes is put on his guard by his Catholic instructor, against their mis-statements, and is thus prepared for the testimonies afforded by history upon the time and circumstances of the rise of this sect. In the last it is shown that the present Vaudois are the real descendants of Valdo, and cannot pretend to that antiquity which they and their English admirers would fain attribute to them. So far our author goes over much of the ground of his former work, as the reader can easily see by running over the article referred to above. After these statements, so necessary for placing the examination on its proper footing, the second book discusses the reasons which induce Philalethes to think it sufficient to belong to any denomination of Christians in order to be saved, which leads the Catholic to prove the institution of a Church by our blessed Redeemer, as well as its constant perpetuity and visibility. The third book explains the marks of the true church, the question of fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines, schism, exclusive salvation, &c. The second volume opens with the fourth book, which turns upon the insufficiency of scripture alone, as a rule of faith, private inspiration, and the usual calumnies against the Catholics, about the reading of the scriptures by laymen. This occupies five conversations; in the sixth, the author asks whether Protestantism owes its progress to the reading of the Bible only? In the seventh, he expounds the Catholic rule of faith, and proves in the eighth, that our Saviour instituted a public and authorized body to interpret scripture and regulate points of faith, to administer to the faithful the means of salvation, and to discharge the duties of ecclesiastical government in spiritual matters. In the last conversation, he establishes the infallibility of the teaching body in the Church. The

last book demonstrates the supremacy of St. Peter, and of the bishops of Rome as his successors, and adduces the admissions of Protestant writers in its favour. From this sketch, it is easy to perceive that these volumes embrace many matters interesting in our own country; and we find on the other hand, that this analogy has led the author to study and avail himself of the controversial labours of English writers. Whilst the names of Pusey, and the writers of the *Tracts for the Times*, appear in some of his pages, we are glad to see that the works of Milner, Lingard, and Wiseman, are quoted in support of the Catholic views.

*Prælectiones Theologicae Majores in Seminario Sancti Sulpitii habitæ de Jure et Justitia*, opera et studio Carrière, 3 vols. 8vo.

*Détails Curieux sur quelques Opinions et Coutumes des Nations Idolâtres, Anciennes et Modernes.* Par M. d'Exauvillez, 18mo. 1fr. 25c.

*Introduction aux Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament.* Par M. l'Abbé Glaire. Three volumes have already appeared; the fourth is shortly expected. Of this work we have spoken on a former occasion. *Dublin Review*, May 1839.

*Démonstration Eucharistique.* Par M. Madrolle. The high commendations bestowed on this work in France and Italy, have induced the author to publish a new and improved edition of it.

*Les Confessions de S. Augustin.* Par L. Moreau, 8vo. pp. 600. This translation is every way worthy of the notice of Catholic readers, and fully attains the object proposed by its author,

*Institution Liturgique.* 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 520, 6 fr. By Dom Guéranger, abbot of Solesmes. The first volume only has as yet appeared. The study of this subject has occupied twelve years, and will, we trust, be worthy of the reputation of the illustrious body over the revival of which the author presides. In the present volume, he goes through the history of the Liturgy as far as the seventeenth century. This is followed by a chronological and bibliographical account of the authors who have written upon liturgical subjects, which contains the names of eighty writers during the first sixteen centuries, not mentioned by the learned Zaccaria, in his *Bibliotheca Ritualis*. After the historical part, he will proceed to treat of the calendar, and the division of times and seasons in the office of the Church. After this introduction, he will speak of the liturgy of the holy Eucharistic sacrifice, and the sacraments. The last part will regard liturgical functions not belonging to any of the preceding classes. He will then examine the connexion of the liturgy with the creed and faith of the Church, and the rights of particular churches to interfere with the established order of the liturgy, and the work will be closed by a *Theologia Liturgica* explaining the assistance given by the study of the liturgy, to moral and dogmatical theology. The work is dedicated to Cardinal Lambruschini, the author's patron and friend.

*Le Protestantisme confondu, ou la Vérité du Catholicisme démontrée.* Par M. l'Abbé Chauliac, 12mo. This work consists of five chapters.

1. The Church is ever visible. 2. Are the sects dissenting from the Catholic Church in possession of the true faith? 3. Is scripture the sole rule of faith? 4. An external worship is prescribed:—the use of the Latin language in it. 5. Marks of the Church. Several objections from history are answered in the course of the work.

*Les Vrais Principes sur la Prédication, ou Manière d'annoncer avec fruit la parole de Dieu.* Par M. l'Abbé J. X. Vêtu, Svo. 12fr.

*Lettres d'un Catholique à un Protestant de l'Eglise anglicane,* 1 vol. 18mo. These controversial letters, on the plan of the *End of Controversy*, are the work of M. l'Abbé Brajeul, curate of St. Saviour's at Dinan, who has had the happiness of converting more than one Protestant to the truth. He declares that the correspondence given in them, really took place, and that he has not made objections for the sake of answering them himself. His argument leads the reader from a proof of the unity of faith, to the establishment of one settled and invariable rule of faith, visible and infallible.

*Théorie Catholique de la Société, ou Recherches nouvelles sur l'identité morale de la liberté avec la religion, prouvée par les rapports des trois faits sociaux, Dieu, le Roi, la Liberté.* Par l'Abbé Baret; 1 vol. 8vo. 5fr. 50c.

*Manuale compendium Juris Canonici, ad Usus Seminariorum.* Each volume 2fr. 50c. M. Lequeux, who is at the head of the seminary at Soissons, has commenced the publication of this course of canon law. The first volume treats of jurisdiction in general, and as distributed amongst the different orders of the hierarchy. Two others will complete the *Institutiones Canonicae*, and the fourth will be entitled *Specimen Juris Canonici*, and will contain an analysis of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with explanations respecting the manner of citing texts from it, &c. It will be closed by notices, prefaces, historical remarks, and a chronological table of the popes and councils.

*Les Fleurs du Ciel,* 1 vol. 8vo. 6fr. 50c. The Abbé Orsini undertakes to prove the antiquity and reasonableness of the honour paid to the saints, and explains the principal virtues by examples drawn from their lives.

*Œuvres de Fénelon.* This collection which is already printed, is to be published by subscription, (2fr. 75c. each volume) and will be complete in 39 volumes 8vo. 22,000 pp. It contains his life by cardinal Bausset, his correspondence, and some inedited letters.

*Cornélii à Lapide in universam Scripturam sacram Commentarii.* They will form ten volumes in 8vo. in double columns, and will be issued in twenty numbers of 600 pages each. A number (8fr.) will appear every month.

*Cours de Lectures sur les vérités importantes de la Religion,* 2 vols. 12mo. 5fr.

*Rituel de Paris,* 1 vol. 4to. pp. 840. 15fr. The late lamented archbishop of Paris appointed a committee of ecclesiastics to regulate a ritual for his diocese. They met frequently, and their labours occupied several years. Their reports were from time to time submitted

to his grace, who had the consolation of seeing the work completed, and giving it his sanction three weeks before his death. It is to be used to the exclusion of all others from the first of June 1840.

*Dialogues sur l'Immutabilité des doctrines religieuses.* Par M. de Guinaumont. In the first dialogue it is shown that religion is fixed and unchangeable by circumstance and changes of time; the second treats of the end of the creation of man; the third, of the work of God; the fourth, of the Catholic worship.

*Chefs-d'Œuvres des Pères de l'Eglise.* 15 vols. 8vo. 55 fr. These translations have been made by the Marquis Fortia d'Urban, the Abbé Labesse, Orsini, &c. and consist of selections from the earliest fathers, down to those of the thirteenth century. The Latin text accompanies them.

*Le Prêtre d'après les Pères*, 12 vols. M. l'Abbé Renaud, canon of the diocese of Aire, proposes in this work to present in one view the instructions and maxims of the holy fathers, on the duties and office of the Christian priest.

The cardinal bishop of Arras has condemned the following works: *La Ste. Bible, contenant l'ancien et le nouveau Testament, traduite sur la Vulgate, par Lemaistre de Sacy: l'ancien Testament de cette édition comprend tous les livres qui se trouvent dans le texte hébreu.* A Paris, chez L. Hachette, 1838, in 8vo.; and *Le N. Testament de N.S. Jesus Christ, traduit de la Vulgate, par Lemaistre de Sacy, imprimé d'après le texte de l'édition publiée à Paris en 1759*; Paris, Didot, 1838, in 12mo. Besides the opinions of the author not being irrefragable, these editions are incomplete and incorrect.

The philosophical works most worthy of notice, are

*Dante et la Philosophie du XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle.* Of M. Ozanam's *Deux Chanceliers*, a contrast between St. Thomas-à-Becket, and Lord Bacon, we have before had occasion to speak. The present publication is an extension of a thesis held by him at the Sorbonne for the degree of docteur en lettres, on which occasion he supported the views advanced, to the satisfaction of the acute and severe critics who formed the board of examination. "So remarkable a thesis," said M. Villemain, "does credit not only to the candidate, but the faculty itself." M. Cousin mentioned it in terms no less honourable. The propositions there defended have been drawn out in a form more attractive to general readers, and illustrated by numerous references. The book is divided into four parts. In the first, the author gives an outline of the state of Christendom in the thirteenth century, considered in a religious, political, and intellectual point of view, and specifies the causes which favoured the development of philosophy. This leads him to the schoolmen, from whom he passes to the peculiar characteristics of the philosophy of Italy. The life, studies, and genius of Dante occupy the last portion of the book; and in treating of them, he particularises his treatises *de Monarchia*, *et de Vulgari Eloquentia*, his *Rime*, *Vita Nuova* and *Convito*. In the second part, he unfolds the theme of the whole essay, the philosophical opinions



of Dante. In it, he places upon one canvass, presents at a single glance, all the philosophic doctrines scattered over the 'Divine Comedy,' now hid under the veil of allegory, now unfolded by the sages of antiquity, with whom he converses, or the sainted doctors of whom he spoke with such intimate familiarity, as of the angelic doctor whom he styles *il buon fra Tommaso*. The poet seems to have foreseen, that the deep and mysterious philosophy hidden under the garb of poetry, would escape the ken of many who would read his immortal strains, when he wrote

"O voi ch' avete gl' intelletti sani,  
Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde  
Sotto 'l velame delli versi strani."

But M. Ozanam has not been content with thus blending into one harmonious whole, the disjointed and scattered fragments; he has linked them to the philosophic systems of the ancient world, or to the more christian and more lofty form in which they were revived by St. Thomas, and the doctors of his age. It has been thought by some moderns, that he anticipated the unholy and profane opinions of the sixteenth century, and that he whom political opinions led to blame some of the Roman pontiffs, held in secret the rebellious principles so openly avowed in later times. M. Ozanam undertakes his defence, and boldly professes in the last chapter of the third part to establish his orthodoxy. That he was no forerunner of the Reformation, as Rosetti has ventured to assert, has been lately shown by the learned father Pianciani, S. J. professor in the college of the society at Rome, in an essay read by him in that city, and printed in the last number of De Luca's *Annali delle Scienze Religiose*. The fourth part contains some supplementary notices on the following points: was Dante of the Guelph or Ghibelline party? Beatrice; the early philosophical studies of the poet; the class of poetry to which his poem is to be referred. An appendix contains documents, or extracts from documents, in support of the author's views, amongst which the bull of Innocent IV, on the restoration of philosophy, is worthy of particular attention. Phrenologists may remark the following passages from St. Bonaventure: "The disposition of the parts of the human body presents numerous varieties, which, when interpreted by art, seem to correspond with different dispositions of the mind. Our masters in this art of interpretation, are Aristotle, Avicennes, Constantine, Palemon, Loxus, Palemoteus. We will follow in their train. He then enters into details, from which we select only a few lines. "A very large head is an ordinary sign of stupidity; a very small one betrays the absence of judgment and memory. A head flat and sunk in the crown, shows fickleness of heart and mind; when elongated after the manner of a hammer, it has all the signs of foresight and circumspection. A narrow forehead reveals an indocile mind and unruly appetites; a too wide one would mark want of discernment. If it be square and of just dimensions, it has been stamped with the seal of wisdom, and perhaps of talent." He thus concludes: "In

general, when all the parts of the body preserve their natural proportions, and there reigns amongst them a perfect harmony of form, measure, colour, situation, motion, we may be allowed to suppose a no less happy disposition or arrangement; a contrary disposition of the members leads us easily to suspect equal disorder in the understanding and will. We may say also with Plato, that our features are often like those of some animal, whose mode of acting and habits, our conduct will often resemble. But (the words are remarkable), above all we must bear in mind, that exterior forms do not *necessarily* mark the interior characters which correspond to them, while they betray the bent, they cannot destroy the liberty of the soul. Furthermore, these marks are merely conjectural, and sometimes uncertain, so that to judge hastily would be rash. For the mark or index may be purely accidental; and if it be the work of nature, the inclination which it represents, may yield to the ascendancy of an opposite habit, or may be restrained by the directing bridle of reason." Our countryman Roger Bacon has the following. "Men may construct, for the wants of navigation, such machines, that the greatest vessels, directed by a single man, shall cut through the rivers and seas with more rapidity, than if they were propelled by rowers; chariots may be constructed, which, without horses, shall run with immeasurable speed. Men conceive machines, which could bear the diver without danger, to the depth of the waters. These things have been seen either by the ancients or in our own days. Man could invent a multitude of other engines and useful instruments, such as bridges that shall span the broadest rivers without any intermediate support. Art hath its thunders more terrible than those of heaven. A small quantity of matter produces a horrible explosion, accompanied by a bright light, and this may be repeated so as to destroy a city or entire battalions."

*Essai sur le Panthéisme dans les Sociétés Modernes.* Par M. Maret. (6f. 50c.) We regret that we have not space for an account of this exposition and refutation of the principles of Pantheism, as developed in certain portions of society. Of its effects in the remarkable instance of Lamartine, we took notice in a recent number. "The work," says a French journal, "displays the method and abilities of its author. Special and immediate importance in the subject, profound and exact knowledge of the times, vigour in deduction, elevation and remarkable clearness of style; nothing is wanting throughout which manifests in the writer knowledge well-digested, superior talent in philosophical expositions, and in several places reminds us of, and equals, the finest passages of Malebranche and Leibnitz."

*La Psychologie et la Phrénologie comparées.* Par M. Garnier. 1 vol. 8vo. The author undertakes to show in what manner phrenologists may avail themselves of the demonstrations of psychology, and endeavours to restrain their theories and deductions within reasonable bounds.

#### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

*Histoire de l'Abbaye de Pontigny.* 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 410. 3f. 50c.

Par M. Henry.—Mr. Tierney has shown, in his introduction to his *History of Arundel*, the importance of local and particular histories, in filling up and completing the records of nations; and the present work, with the next upon our list, contains many facts interesting to the history of France and of our own country. "The abbey of Pontigny, of the order of Cîteaux, was founded in 1114, by Hilbert, canon of Auxerre, in a lovely plain, on the banks of the Serein. It was the second affiliation from Cîteaux, and had for its first abbot the B. Hugh, of Mâcon, the intimate friend of St. Bernard. Under him and his successors, many of whom, like him, were raised to the episcopacy, or the Roman purple, the abbey increased rapidly. In the space of a century it founded forty-five abbeys in France, Italy, and Hungary. (Of these M. Henry gives an account.) It enjoyed during three centuries the esteem of the Church and the veneration of the whole world. Sovereign pontiffs wrote letters to its abbots, which testify their regard towards it. Princes, princesses, and even kings, went thither in pilgrimage. Louis the younger, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis, visited the holy place, and enriched it with different privileges. It was the asylum of our persecuted English archbishops of Canterbury, of St. Thomas-à-Becket, (the holy and illustrious martyr) of Stephen Langton (during whose exile were composed the lines which describe so well the charity of the abbey,

'Est pontiniacum, pons exulis, hortus, asylum,

Hic graditur, spatiat in hoc, requiescit in illo)—

and of St. Edmund, who is held in great veneration, and his entire body, that precious relic, is yet in the basilica, placed in a reliquary, upon the high altar. The abbey lasted 676 years. The basilica was built about 1150, by Thibault-le-grand, count of Champagne. In the appendix are more than fifty bulls of different Popes, from Innocent II to Pius IV, and many deeds and instruments in the language of the time. M. Henry is publishing also the history of Seignelay, his birthplace. The first volume has appeared.

*Abbaye de Cluny*, 1 vol. 8vo. 12f. Par M. Lorain. This celebrated abbey was founded in 909, "In a spot," says the old chronicle, "so remote from all human society, so full of loneliness, of repose, and peace, that it seemed in some sort the image of the heavenly solitude." Its history carries us to the glorious days when the monastic spirit was represented by such men as its abbot, Peter the Venerable, St. Bernard, and Abbot Suger. M. Lorain is full of admiration for the former, and prefers him to the holy abbot of Clairveaux. Although the world has not formed the same opinion, it must be confessed that the life and actions of Peter will in some points bear the comparison; and he may, in the history of that age, hold a distinguished place by the side of the saint, whose life he who has undertaken it is every way worthy to write.

Amongst the biographical works we notice two lives of the venerable Archbishop of Paris, one by Baron Henrion (1 vol. 8vo. pp. 350. 4f.), the other by M. d'Exauvillez (2 vols. 8vo. 7f. 50c.), with an abridgment, by the latter, in 18mo. (80c.)

## MISCELLANEOUS.

The works connected with instruction and education are *Exemples Moraux*, ou, *Suites d'une Bonne et d'une Mauvaise Education*, from the Spanish. By M. l'Abbé Mitraud, (12mo. 1f. 25c.) *le Code de l'Enfant du Christ*; ou, *Dissertations Religieuses d'un Pâtre Pyrénéen* (8vo. 5f.); *Traité des Sciences Géologiques considérées dans leurs Rapports avec la Religion*, by M. Jehan. *Cours d'Instruction Morale et Religieuse* (2 vols. 12mo. 5f.) *Explication des Evangiles* (2 vols. 18mo. 2f. 50c.)

Amongst the books intended to excite and inspire devotion, may be noticed the following musical publications of the Abbé Guillou:—*Douze Cantiques de la Vie de la Vierge*, with an organ or pianoforte accompaniment; *Douze Cantiques de Devotion à la Mère de Dieu*, (ditto); *Douze Cantiques à Marie* (ditto); each 18f. The same composer has published several other pieces of music, under the title of *Harmonies Religieuses*. Of books of devotion we may notice—*Le Chemin du Calvaire*, printed at Beauvais; and various books for the month of Mary. The most remarkable and most interesting is the *Livre des âmes*; ou, *La Vie du Chrétien sanctifiée par la Prière et la Méditation*; by Charles Ste. Foi. (1 vol. 4f.)

The following poems have appeared: *Le Dernier Jour*, par J. Reboul, (8vo. 7f. 50c.); *Un Martyr*; ou, *Le Sacerdoce Catholique en Chine, Poème en cinq chants; tiré des annales des missions étrangères*, par M. Auber (18mo. 2f.), and *Le Voyant*, par M. l'Abbé J. P. Enjeloir, auteur des *Fleurs à Marie*.

Two books of travels, every way Catholic, have been published; one entitled *Les Pèlerinages de Suisse*, by Louis Veuillot. He had travelled into Italy to see and admire its wonders of art, and its beauties of nature, and he visited Rome. He went to visit St. Peter's, and as he entered he fell involuntarily upon his knees; prayer, like a spring freshly opened, burst from his heart; he prayed, and rose a Christian. Leaving the holy city, he visited the pilgrimages of Switzerland, Einsiedlin, Sachslén, and Maria-Stein, and his impressions of this delicious and pious journey are written in this book. He visited, too, some of the cantons of Switzerland, and has given us an account of them. The second work is M. Poujoulat's *Toscane et Rome*. The young author had journeyed to Jerusalem in company with Michaud, the historian of the Crusades, and on his return he passed through Rome. The portion that regards Tuscany is useful but not indispensable. The main feature of the work is the contrast raised in the author's mind between these two cities, in which the past, present, and future of Christianity are so well marked. Two or three passages are very beautiful, especially the parting of the travellers from the Franciscan monk at Jerusalem.

## GERMAN CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

*Der Abfall von den Lebens principien der Kirche und des Staats nachgewiesen in der Lehre des Abbé De la Mennais. Aus dem Französischen des Abbé Gerbet.*—An apostacy from the vital principles of Church and State, demonstrated in the doctrine of the Abbé de la Mennais. By the Abbé Gerbet; translated from the French; Augsburg, 1839.—There is not, perhaps, a more melancholy phenomenon in the whole history of the Church, than the fall of the Abbé de la Mennais. The example of Tertullian bears the strongest resemblance to this deplorable case; yet Tertullian, soon after his apostacy, preserved, and defended with zeal and talent many catholic truths; but, in the instance before us, we find an absolute and total renunciation of Christianity. Tertullian, even after he left the Church, seemed yet to love to linger within its shadow; but this unhappy spirit, since he abandoned his Father's house, hath been plunging deeper and deeper into those frightful solitudes, where no fountain springs, no herbage grows, and the human voice itself sounds hollow and sepulchral.

How awful, indeed, is the change that hath come over this mighty spirit! We knew him a glorious seraph in the Church; the pride and glory of her sons; the terror of her enemies; and now behold him in his fall an object of mournful sympathy for all Christians, and of cruel derision to those very jacobins with whom he has associated, and who now insult him by their adulation. What a lesson of deep humiliation and self-distrust should this example be to us.

It is remarkable that at the very moment when, by this sad apostacy, La Mennais repudiated the noblest recollections of his life, blasted his own reputation, and renounced, if we may so speak, his very intellectual existence, those disciples whom he had reared with so much care, or who had, at least, received a powerful impulse from his genius, not only have condemned the revolt of their master, but are become the most able and eloquent organs of religion in France. The Abbé Gerbet, the most profound of French theologians; the Abbé Lacordaire, a most eloquent preacher; the Abbé Salinis, a very elegant writer; M. Rio, one of the most eloquent of the Catholic writers of France; Count Montalembert, one of its most learned and ingenious historians; M. de Coux, its deepest political economist; these have made to the Church ample compensation for the loss she has sustained in the services of their master.

The work before us is a masterly refutation of the religious and political errors of M. de la Mennais, as contained in the work, entitled "*Affaires de Rome*." It originally appeared in the admirable periodical entitled, "*L'Université Catholique*," and has since been published in a separate form. We have seen parts of the original, and the German translation before us is excellent.

The introduction, in which Gerbet makes allusion to the ancient friendship that had existed between himself and La Mennais; a friendship, says he, contracted at the foot of the altar; and when he declares his willingness, if possible, "to shed the last drop of his blood, if he could procure from the fallen Tertullian the grace of a single tear:" and where he declares how far more truly and sincerely he is devoted to La Mennais than all his new friends, who, with selfish flattery, pay court to his revolt; this introduction, we say, has a tone of pathetic dignity, that must go to every heart.

The work is divided into two parts: in the first of which, the new theological errors of M. de la Mennais are refuted, and in the second his new political doctrines are shown to be false and absurd in themselves, as well as inconsistent with Catholic dogma.

Our limits will not permit us to do more than give a general summary of the author's plan. M. Gerbet refutes, in his first chapter, the error of La Mennais, by which he teaches that the Church, though of divine origin, has, like the synagogue, but a limited duration; the second, the error that the gospel is no longer to be interpreted by the Catholic hierarchy, but by nations at large; and in the third, the error that all Christianity is to be reduced to the precept of love. In this first portion of his work, the Abbé Gerbet displays that clear, vigorous, dialectic, and sententious eloquence, which distinguish all his productions.

We can afford space but for one extract:—

"From the establishment of Christianity, Catholics have constantly maintained the opinion, that not only was the Church founded by Christ, but instituted in such a manner, that it should endure unchanged till the end of time. Almost all the sects which have separated from the Catholic Church, have lost the faith in its perpetual duration, only because they refused to believe in its divine institution. Yet the idea of a church, established by Christ for a limited period only, is not entirely new. From time to time there were men who expected and announced that the Holy Spirit would once more appear, and as Christ had founded the church in room of the synagogue, would institute a church in the place of the one established by our Lord. This idea, which, under various forms, was put forth by several heretics of the first ages, particularly by the Gnostics, was dexterously turned to advantage by Mohammed. He, in fact, represented himself to the Christians as a sort of Paraclete, who, according to the prediction of Christ, was to consummate the divine word. Even some illuminés of the middle age, the predecessors of Swedenborg, foretold the establishment of a new church, which should no longer receive and preserve the *gospel of time*, but the treasure of the eternal gospel.

"And thus, from time to time, did this idea emerge alternately as a child of the Gnosis, Islam, and Mysticism, the vision of minds diseased, who, after Christ, still look for God. In despite of the



singularity of this view, we are by no means astonished that M. de la Mennais, when he first transgressed the limits of Catholic obedience, should have taken refuge in opinions of this kind. When he abandoned the Catholic church, he must have felt an internal repugnance to looking for an asylum in Protestantism against which, in his last writing, he has manifested a deep indignation. In such a state men naturally seek to bring about a compromise between their ancient faith and their new opinions; but the notion which we have just pointed out, seems, at first view, to bear upon it this character. On the one hand it differs from Protestantism, inasmuch as it acknowledges the divine institution of the Catholic church.\* But on the other hand, the destruction of the Catholic church, when it should take place, can occur only at the moment when it has ceased to correspond to its divine destination in respect to the world. And when in its days of decline, it should take a fancy, like the dying synagogue, to crucify the truth, will not their resistance to its unjust commands be the first act, whereby *the children of futurity* will hail the advent of the new kingdom of God? Thus the new heresy, separated from Protestantism at its outset, approximates to it in its progress, and terminates in the same common limit, by denying the obedience due to the authority of the church."—pp. 13, 14.

After showing that tradition constitutes the very essence of the Catholic church, and that the doctrine of the perpetuity of the church and its ministry to the end of days, forms a part of that tradition, M. Gerbet refutes the objection which La Mennais had drawn from the downfall of the ancient synagogue, in the following masterly manner:—

"It is said, if the synagogue, though of divine institution, were perishable, why should not the church be so likewise? Why? because the synagogue was the stone of expectation; but the church the finished edifice; because the one was the daughter of promise, the other the daughter of fulfilment; because the one expected a prophet greater than Moses, 'the desired of all nations,' in whom the human race from the beginning of time had been blessed; but the church since Christ looks for nothing more till the end of time. Lastly, because the synagogue had not, like the church, expressly taught that it had received all ages for its inheritance. And thus it follows, that so far from our being justified in inferring the destruction of the church from the downfall of the synagogue, we should deduce the very reverse, and say the church is perpetual, and for the very reason which will not permit us to ascribe the same perpetuity to the synagogue; for in the tradition of the one the promises of immortality have ever resounded, while in the traditions of the other those promises were not heard, or rather had given place to prophecies of change and decay."—p. 16.

In the second part of his work, M. Gerbet refutes the revo-

lutionary errors of M. de la Mennais, which he shows to be incompatible with Catholic doctrine, absurd and inconsistent in themselves, and most pernicious in their consequences. This portion of the work is extremely interesting; but our limits will not permit us to do more than allude to it.

*Das Zweyte Jahres-gedächtniss des 20 November.*—Second Anniversary of the 20th November; Ratisbon, 1840.—The pen of the illustrious Görres is still indefatigable in the cause of religion. Pamphlet after pamphlet doth this great man put forth, exposing the oppression of the church in Prussia, the hollow sophistry of its enemies, the wickedness and falsehood of their accusations; and while he proves the futility of all their attempts to enslave her, points with just triumph to the fulfilment of his predictions. The present work is distinguished, like the former productions of the author, for a lucid exposition of facts, profound views, and, above all, a keen irony. No writer, like Görres, varies with such exquisite felicity, his forms of reasoning. Sometimes it is by dialogue; sometimes by anecdote; sometimes by allegory; sometimes by the boldest personification, he enforces his argument, and illustrates his views, throwing over the whole a brilliancy of wit, and a warmth of eloquence that alternately agitate and delight.

In this pamphlet he introduces a cunning old woman, called State-Prudence, who disputes with another elderly lady, called Simplicity, the representative of orthodoxy. Nothing can be more amusing than the dialogue which is kept up between them.

Görres shows that the war against the church, which the Prussian government undertook, had failed when conducted by all the resources of the French Republic, and the Imperial despotism, though Napoleon was the master of the ecclesiastical states, and of a large portion of Europe. He argues that the Prussian government, so much inferior in power and resources to revolutionary France, is moreover a state which possesses neither territorial compactness, nor unity of race among its inhabitants, nor unity of historical recollections, nor unity of political feelings and desires, nor unity of religious principles. A state so weakened and divided in all its vital elements, can attain consolidation and stability only by great prudence, circumspection, conciliation, and tolerance.

The author remarks, that in the unholy war which this government has waged against the liberties of the church, it has received the co-operation of those whose alliance is fatal to every government, and, most of all, to a government founded on the principles of legitimacy. At the moment when the venerable Archbishop of Cologne was carried into prison, the Rationalists, headed by Dr. Paulus, of Heidelberg, the pantheistical Hegelians of Berlin, the revolutionary party represented by the Leipzig Gazette, and the Frankfort Journal, the most cynical and undisguised atheists and jacobins, who, with Hayne, "sigh for the emancipation of the flesh,"—

these all hastened to join in a chorus of approbation of the measure, and to stimulate the government in its fatal course.

The author passes in review all the important acts in the eventful struggle between the Prussian Government and the Catholic Church; the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne; the defence which the Prussian Government attempted of that indefensible act; the energetic remonstrance of the holy see; the persecution of the inferior clergy in the Rhenish Province and Westphalia; the treachery of the Hermesians; the calumnies of the Protestant and infidel press against the doctrines, institutions, and ministers of the Catholic faith; the fluctuating policy of the Prussian Government; the prosecution of the Archbishop of Posen for enforcing the papal bull, relative to the benediction of mixed marriages; the second vigorous remonstrance of the Holy See; the pretext under which this zealous and intrepid prelate was inveigled from his diocese to Berlin; his sentence of deposition from the episcopal office, and of imprisonment for six months, adjudged by a lay Protestant tribunal, on account of the discharge of duties purely ecclesiastical; his escape from Berlin, and his imprisonment in Colberg; the universal grief which this measure has excited, not only among the clergy, but the nobility, middle classes and peasantry of Prussian Poland; such are the principal events in this momentous struggle, which our author brings before his readers in a rapid but vigorous outline. He shows, moreover, that in despite of all the acts of the government, the falsehoods of the Protestant press, and the timidity or truckling of a small minority of the clergy, especially in the diocese of Cologne, the good sense of the people has not been deceived; but that all orders of Catholics in Posen, Westphalia, and the Rhenish Provinces, clearly see that in this struggle are involved the freedom or the servitude, the existence or the destruction, of Catholicism in Prussia.

The work is closed with some very profound reflections on the present religious and political state of Europe, and on the causes which led first to the reformation, and afterwards to that ungodly revolution in Church and state, which is only its legitimate consequence. This is a favourite theme of Görres; yet it is wonderful to see what endless variations he introduces in the management of it.

Our limits will permit us to make but few extracts. The following passage, describing Napoleon's persecution of the church, and his sudden precipitation from power, when his wicked designs were about being accomplished, exhibits that fine union of eloquence, deep thought and irony, which is peculiar to Görres.

"Perhaps," says he, "this government (the Prussian), stood on the same pinnacle of power, as did Napoleon when he engaged in a similar enterprise; together with France; Spain, Germany, and Italy, then lay at the feet of this strong man, while Russia, in confederacy with him, was subservient to his views and interests. He

might with more confidence indulge in the idea of throwing down the spiritual power; the last barrier to his scheme of universal domination. After having incorporated the States of the Church with France, he might, without danger, venture to declare Rome a city of the empire, and after the formal deposition of the pope, and the occupation of his territory by the armed squadrons whom he had sent, under the command of Miollis, he might securely convey the Pontiff to France, to serve him there as the Grand Almoner of his policy. The work was undertaken under all the probabilities of infallible success, and was carried on amid ever growing probabilities; but on the very eve of its termination, met with a sudden and total failure. The excommunication of the old man, which the world had laughed at, received power and confirmation from above. *As the Pontiff went out of the opened portals of his prison, the trammelled church rose out of the ruins of an universal despotism, but to the sailors who passed by the island, a voice soon announced the tidings that Great Pan was dead.*"

The following is a vigorous portrait of our times. The author asks the Prussian Government whether the moment when society is rocked to its basis by revolutionary principles, be the best chosen for subverting its last prop.

"But amid the disfavour of local position, are the circumstances of time more favourable? The earth quakes, the waters vibrate against their shores, the atmosphere is agitated by storms, minds are in fermentation, all the foundations of moral order undermined and bared, refuse to bear longer the superincumbent weight; the pillars tremble, the columns nod, the walls start from their foundation, and here and there the crash of subversion is heard. Was this the time to risk the last secure possession, and when one was scarcely able to stand on one's feet, to storm the last citadel of safety?"

Our author winds up his work with the following beautiful passage, calling to recollection the many signal triumphs which, by the aid of Divine Providence, the Catholic church hath achieved in our times, triumphs which should fill her sons with courage and confidence, and cover oppressors with shame and confusion.

"But, *Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum, adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus. Dirumpamus vincula eorum, et projiciamus a nobis jugum ipsorum. — Qui habitat in calis iridebit eos, et Dominus subsannabit eos. Tunc loquetur ad eos in irâ suâ, et in furore suo conturbabit eos.* Will He, of whom the Scripture here speaketh, recede before the pomp of earthly power, and is His arm shortened in our days, more than it was in earlier times? Hath He not forced three of these modern confessions, the Greek, the Anglican, and the new state church by the Spree, to build up, in alliance with the ancient church, a Catholic state in Belgium on a free ecclesiastical basis? Hath He not, before our

eyes at the foot of the Alps,\* brought to shame and ruin, by the right arm of the people that bragging, bullying radicalism? Hath He not in Ireland raised up anew the Catholic population, that for centuries had been trampled under foot, and doth not His hand now conduct it, together with the faithful portion of the British nation, amid the hostile array of its infuriated enemies, towards that destination which He hath assigned to it? How carefully hath He not watched over His church in the French empire? How hath He protected her amid all revolutions and insurrections, till, in her poverty, she hath become a marvel and a despair to her enemies? And do we not, at this hour, see Him still carrying on the same work in the Spanish Peninsula? So, *Et nunc reges intelligite, erudimini qui judicatis terram. Servite Domino in timore, et exultate ei cum tremore. Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de viâ justâ. Cum exarserit in brevi ira ejus; beati omnes qui confidunt in eo.*"

*Die Geschichte Jesu Christi des Sohnes Gottes und Weltheilandes. Von Dr. Johann Baptist von Hirscher, Professor der Theologie zu Freiburg; Tübingen, 1839; Verlag der Laupp'schen Buchhandlung.*

The History of Jesus Christ, the son of God, and the Saviour of the world. By Dr. Jean Baptiste de Hirscher, Professor of Theology at Fribourg; Tübingen, 1839. Sold by H. Laupp. Protestantism is in fact a denial of the Christian dogma. Great as were the efforts made by the heretics of the sixteenth century to constitute themselves into an essentially evangelical communion, history is at hand to prove to us, by the inflexible logic of facts, that Christianity cannot maintain itself along with the principles of the Reformation. If, at first, Luther and those of his school warmly maintained the faith in Christ and in his redemption, this faith was a remnant of belief and habits, which had passed from the ancient church to the new communion of dissenters. Life is seldom instantly destroyed, and it is by slow degrees that a powerful living organization arrives at dissolution; there is often an external appearance of vigour, while the canker has reached the seat of vitality, and death is inevitable. This is the history of the reformation. In proportion as the innovators withdrew further from the church, and as time widened the gulph which they had opened, the principle of Protestantism acquired more consistency, developed itself more powerfully, and sought to obtain its rights. From a given cause its effects naturally follow; they may be checked for a time by violent measures, but sooner or later they reach their height; it is thus that from reform to reform, from protest to protest, from negation to negation, the Protestant Church has reached that point when it cannot be said to have any decided dogma or rule of faith; by dint of critical enquiries, and rational notions, the Bible itself, that cornerstone of pure christianity, has become, in the hands of the German

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\* Görres alludes to the revolt at Zurich, which put down the irreligious government of that canton.

Protestants, a mere collection of traditions and oriental visions. The Deism of the eighteenth century shewed clearly enough the fatal effects of Luther's guilty separation; but it was reserved for the nineteenth to furnish the most convincing proof of the absolute incompatibility of Christianity with Protestantism, under whatever name or form. Dr. Strauss, in his life of Jesus Christ, has closed the cycle of reformers, and given reform a deathblow. This has been felt by all Protestant theologians. Refutations of Strauss have succeeded each other with astonishing rapidity. Men, the most distinguished by their learning and hierarchical position, have entered the lists. But though we acknowledge with pleasure the excellence of the works they have given to the public, we must still declare aloud, that every attempt to refute Strauss's book, made under the banner of the Reformation, must prove abortive; for life and truth cannot exist beyond the pale of the Catholic Church, to which alone the Saviour has promised his assistance. It may not be uninteresting to quote the opinion of one of the modern rationalists, whose books, anti-christian as they are, have made nevertheless considerable sensation. Salvador, in his work entitled "Jesus Christ and his doctrine," writes as follows respecting the work of Dr. Strauss: "And finally, the work of the professor of Tübingen is of great importance, as being the *last expression of the spirit of Protestantism. The Reformation deceived itself when it attributed to itself an entirely Christian movement, a pure and simple return to the evangelical doctrines.*"—vol. i. p. 19 of the preface.

It was in fact the tendency of the Reformation, to lead to a denial of the existence of the Christ, whose mission as Saviour of the world, must appear foolishness to the pride of reason. As is evident, the strife is here between the members of one family, the sons of one mother. The Catholic Church has no concern in the debate, unless to rejoice in the divine solidity of the principle upon which she rests, tranquil and unshaken, amidst the agitated waves that break around her. Yet as a scientific question, theologians are bound to notify the act. Only one formal refutation has been penned by a Catholic writer; we allude to the work of Dr. Kuhn, Professor of Theology at the university of Fribourg. This writer is ardently devoted to the cause of his Church; a profound scholar, and a correct appreciator of the wants of our epoch, M. Kuhn has successfully resolved the problem he proposed to himself. But local circumstances sometimes require different conduct; in Germany it is not difficult to find provinces, into which Protestant principles have penetrated amongst the faithful flock, and sometimes even succeeded in making disciples amongst the servants of the altar. The members of the Church are thus exposed to a double danger,—from enemies without, and from lukewarm or corrupted pastors from within; in such cases, it is important to arm the faithful against the seductions of error, by putting into their hands books in which religious science has been made popular; this has been the object of M. Hirscher in his *History of*



*Jesus Christ.* We should look in vain for polemics in this work. The author has given a simple recital of the life of Jesus Christ, as it has been left us by the four Evangelists, introducing into his recital a strict and logical chain of facts. When he allows himself to make reflections, they are for the purpose of shewing how completely in the Gospels everything is connected, and tends to the realization of a divine plan. After having narrated the facts which preceded and accompanied the birth of the Messiah, he points out how the infancy, the youth, and the obscurity of the Saviour, form a homogeneous whole, with the public ministry he began to exercise at the age of thirty years. The remainder of the book is employed in the development of the great truth, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Messiah, that is to say, the Saviour of the world. The first manifestation of the Christ, was the symbol of his coming in the midst of men. At the moment when he was about to begin his august ministry, he took his stand as conqueror of the Prince of darkness; as conqueror of Satan. The temptation in the desert was not only to be the emblem of his own victory over the sensuality, pride, and ambition of the world, it was also to be a pledge of the same victory to be obtained in future by all true disciples, over the lying suggestions of the infernal spirit. The author next considers the object which Jesus Christ proposed to himself in his incarnation; and then develops, in a series of chapters, the realization of the glorious purposes of the Messiah, and the gradual establishment of his kingdom amidst the children of men. Everywhere we find our author taking up his position on the ground of the Gospel. And in every line we recognize the profound thinker and the Christian, zealous for sound doctrine. We wish that space allowed our quoting some of the fine passages which have most struck us; but we must be content with the general indications we have given of the plan. One remark will be sufficient to make our readers sensible of the value of the interesting work we are announcing. In spite of the anti-Catholic atmosphere in which he has lived, our author has held the true doctrine faithfully and firmly. In his present work, he has attacked modern incredulity at the root, without wearying his readers by any form of systematic science. While addressing himself to the most enlightened reason, he still touches the heart. His words penetrate the soul of the reader of the life of Jesus—for in it we find the noble simplicity and all-powerful unction of the old ecclesiastical writers. The work of M. de Hirschler is a valuable present to Catholic literature, and will not fail to do much good.

*Warum bin ich Katholik, oder gilt es gleich, ob man diese oder jene Religion bekenne? Beantwortet in populären Kanzelvorträgen von Aloys Schloer, Doctor der Theologie und Weltpriester. Gratz, 1840, in der T. A. Kienreich'schen Buchhandlung.* Why am I a Catholic; or, is it indifferent what religion we profess? this Question treated in a series of Sermons, made available for the use of all the

faithful, by Louis Schloer, Doctor in Theology, and secular Priest. Gratz, 1840; at the library of T. A. Kienreich.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the great Catholic movement now taking place in Germany, than the matters commonly treated of by modern preachers. No longer limiting themselves to preaching morality in a vague way; the Catholic priests now venture upon the most vital questions of doctrine, well persuaded that faith cannot be maintained, unless the ministers of the Church are careful to develop the dogmatic truths upon which rest the whole theory of duties, and of morals. Now, more than ever, it is necessary to arm the faithful against that indifferentism which has sprung from the reformation; and this can only be done by announcing fearlessly and fully the truths of Catholicism. The greatest and most culpable intolerance is that which destroys the souls our divine Master has redeemed with his blood. It is a proof of the admirable manner in which M. de Schloer has fulfilled his task, that in two months the first edition of 3,000 copies has been exhausted.

*Geistesübungen nach der Weise des H. Ignatius von Loyola, für Priester und Candidaten des Priesterthums. Von Dr. Aloys Schloer, &c., Gratz, 1840, in der T. H. Kienreich'schen Buchhandlung.* Spiritual exercises according to the method of S. Ignatius Loyola, for the use of Priests and Aspirants to the holy ministry; by Dr. Louis Schloer, &c. Gratz, 1840.

Two things are requisite for the Catholic priest, that he may worthily fulfil his sacerdotal duties: he must have the spirit of the Spirit, and he must have science; these two qualifications should go together. Zeal without religious science may too easily become fanaticism, and science without piety destroys rather than edifies, because it nourishes pride—of all vices most opposed to Christianity. It had long been a received opinion in Germany, that enough was done for religion, when the intelligence was well developed, but the bitter fruits of this maxim were not long in displaying themselves; there were many men remarkable for their learning, who had received the imposition of hands, but amongst them there were few priests. While everything had been done to ornament the mind, the heart had been left empty, and given up to the illusions of the world. Theory was everything, practical life had been considered as a less important thing, which would be easily acquired. But since a better spirit has ornamented the German clergy, they do not indeed neglect science, but they seek to add to it the virtues most necessary for those who labour for the sanctification of souls. They have begun again to inculcate in the minds of the young students of theology the necessity of prayer, that their labours may be acceptable to the Most High. Clerical education begins once more to take its place beside theological science. Even ecclesiastics already employed upon the sacred ministry, require to renew themselves, as it were, if they would not lose something of their graces, by the contact with a world in the midst of which they exist: to afford them the means for this renewal of the sacerdotal

spirit, the Church has instituted ecclesiastical retreats, where, during a longer or shorter time, the clergy may devote themselves to meditation upon their holy duties, and seek to acquire fresh strength for their difficult task. These retreats have long existed in Italy and France; in Germany they become more and more frequent, and even where not at present established, the want of them is felt. The work we have cited, owes its origin to one of these retreats, which took place a short time ago in the diocese of Seckau. The author has taken for his basis the inimitable spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius; and according to the plan and method of the great founder of the Society of Jesus, he has divided his materials over every day of the retreat. Besides the meditations of Dr. Schloer, which bear the impress of a soul seeking to sanctify itself and others, there is in the collection the opening discourse pronounced by Mgr. Zängerte, the Prince Bishop of Seckau; and three others held upon the same occasion by the Rev. Dr. Buchinger, director of the ecclesiastical seminary. This book has not only the merit of being useful and salutary, it is also another sign of the religious progress now daily making amongst us. We should think we failed in our mission if we registered and analysed, merely the productions of German Catholic literature: it is important that these publications should also be the mirror of the religious and social life of our epoch.

*Geschichte der Kreuzzüge und des Königreichs Jerusalem, aus dem Lateinischen des Erzbischofs Wilhelm von Tyrus, von E. und R. Kausler. Mit 1 Kupfer, 2 Planen und 1 Karte. Stuttgart in der Krabbe'schen Buchhandlung, 1840.* History of the Crusades, and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; translated from the Latin of Archbishop William of Tyre, by E. and R. Kausler, with an engraving, two plans, and a map. Stuttgart; at the library of Krabbe, 1840.

There is perhaps no science of which the spirit of error has so greatly abused, in order to extend its own dominion amongst men, as that of history; and during three centuries, the partizans of schism have done all in their power to destroy one of the most solid bases of Christian Catholic truth; they have succeeded but too well, as is proved by the numerous and deplorable ruins which we meet with everywhere in the religious and also in the political world. History rests entirely upon testimony. The historian can neither invent nor alter facts; his duty is to show the chain of causes and effects, by the help of the materials with which time has furnished him. But it is evident, that from the moment when the authority of testimony was rejected in religious questions, and made to give way to the caprices of individual reason, the weight of testimony would become an inconvenient restraint, to be shaken off on the first opportunity. So indeed it was, and history, instead of remaining the science of truth, became the auxiliary of falsehood; instead of being the recital of facts, it became the organ of a party to whom truth was hateful. It became an ignoble romance, a chimera to which all reality was sacrificed.

But if error can pervert minds for a time, it cannot maintain its empire; sooner or later the time arrives when truth asserts her rights, and with the greater force, from having been longer and more forcibly kept back. Our own epoch presents us with this cheering phenomenon—never have historical studies been resumed with greater ardour, or in a spirit which promises better things to futurity. A new road has been opened, and that, in spite of the evil dispositions of some men, who seek to maintain the ascendancy of falsehood which their party has asserted. Instead of adapting historical facts to an idea, or a system; instead of swamping the story of events by reflections more or less paradoxical; we are beginning again to have recourse to the sources of history, to study the past in the documents which have come down to us, and to give a portraiture of each age, with the character belonging to it.

We have the strongest proof how beneficially such a study, brought back to its true principles, will act upon all minds, and turn to the profit of religious belief. A single work has been sufficient to show us all that posterity may expect from the new school whose principles are daily gaining ground; we allude to the *History of Innocent III.*, by Hürter. The pontificate was never considered in a broader or juster point of view than in this history, although its author belongs to the Reformed communion. He has been just, because he has had the courage to seek his information, not in the fantastic inventions of the writers of these latter times, but in the recitals of contemporary chronicles, and in the works of the sovereign Pontiff himself, who has so long been misunderstood and calumniated. The result of his enquiries, the fruit of his conscientious watchfulness, is, that Hürter has given us a faithful portrait instead of a vile caricature. The new direction given to historical science deserves from Catholics the closest and the greatest attention; and on this account we think we cannot record works of this kind with too much solicitude, for they will furnish us with testimony in favour of our holy Church; so much the more valuable, because not to be suspected of partiality. The *History of the Crusades*, of which a German translation has lately appeared at Stuttgart, belongs to the class of works we have been speaking of; it has given to the public a document, of which the author was almost contemporary with that great movement, that drove the west upon the east, and prepared a new era. The Crusades were in their principle religious expeditions; they could not therefore have a better historian, than a man who occupied a high place in the Church, by means of which he could accurately discern the connexion of causes and effects; such a man was William, Archbishop of Tyre. It appears that he was born at Jerusalem, towards the end of the 12th century. He studied at the University of Paris, then the most celebrated in the Christian world. On his return to his country, he was named, through the intervention of king Amalric, to the Archdeaconry of Tyre, in the year 1167, and was sent the same year as ambassador to the Court of Constantinople. Shortly

afterwards he took a journey to settle some family affairs, and at a later period, Amalric entrusted him with the education of his son Baudouin, who appointed him chancellor of his kingdom, when, at the death of his father, he assumed the reins of government. In 1174, he was elected Archbishop of Tyre, and as such, assisted at the third Synod of the Lateran. The period of his death is uncertain. William of Tyre wrote two historical works—the one is lost, its title was *Gesta Principum Orientalium*. The other, entitled *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahomet usque ad annum Domini 1184*. The second is the History of the Crusades, and obtained for its author the reputation of the greatest historian of the middle ages.

Having stated in his preface what he conceives to be the duty of every good historian, William of Tyre proceeds to give the motives which have induced him to transmit to posterity an account of the great actions by which the Crusaders have distinguished themselves, the matters which form the object of his book, and the sources from whence he has drawn them. "It is," says he, "the will of king Amalric, of glorious memory, and the reiterated orders we have received from him, and which we could not refuse to obey, which have principally determined us to undertake this work. We have likewise, in conformity with the will of the monarch, written another history, for which he furnished us with the Arabian books that we required. This book sets forth the events that have taken place since the time of the seducer Mahomet, until this present year, 1184 after the birth of our Saviour, and comprehends a period of 570 years. In our recital we have chiefly followed the statements of the venerable Seid, son of Batrick, patriarch of Alexandria. In the present work, in which we have not required to consult either Greek or Arab authors, we have adhered, (except in a few instances where we were ourselves eye-witnesses,) to oral traditions, and we have begun our recital with the expedition of those pious and valiant princes, who, in obedience to the will of the Most High, have come from the Western Kingdoms, and have conquered, by their bravery, the Holy Land, and almost all Syria; from thence we shall continue our history down to the Sieur Baudouin IV, who is the seventh in the succession of our kings, if we reckon the Sieur Duke Godfrey as the first. This period, at which we have laboured with much care, comprehends a space of eighty-four years. In order that the reader may acquire an exact knowledge of the state of the east, we have preceded the principal history with a succinct account of the beginning and duration of the slavery of these countries, of the state in which the faithful lived during this interval, under the dominion of Mussulmen; and finally of the causes which have determined the princes of the west, after this long and continual servitude, to take up arms to deliver the holy places from the yoke of the infidel, and to expose themselves to all the dangers and fatigues of such a pilgrimage..... We have divided the book into twenty-three books, and each book into chapters, that we might

make it easier for the reader to seek out such matters as particularly interest him."

William of Tyre, having travelled in the west, and lived there a considerable time, was better able than most people to describe the state of society in the 12th century. As an instance of the manner in which he judged of men and things, we will quote a passage from the eighth chapter of the first book, in which he describes the corruption that prevailed immediately before the commencement of the Crusades.

"But," he says, "it was not only in the east that the faithful groaned under the oppression of the wicked; in the west also, and over the whole universe, but particularly amongst those who called themselves faithful—faith had grown cold, the fear of the Lord had disappeared, justice was oppressed. Instead of uprightness and equity, violence had gained the mastery. Roguery, fraud, and cunning had everywhere extended their dominion. Everywhere probity, become now a useless virtue, had given way to iniquity. It seemed as if the universe was about to fall back into dark night, and that the coming of the Lord was at hand, since charity had grown cold in many hearts, since there was no faith amongst men, that all was in confusion, and that the ancient chaos had come upon the earth. The most powerful princes, who should have obliged their subjects to keep peace, broke it themselves; began wars upon slight pretences, ravaged whole provinces with fire and sword; pillaged everywhere, and gave up the goods of the poor to their guilty vassals. There was no security for the fortunes of individuals amongst these depredations. It was enough if public rumour pointed out any one as possessing wealth, and he was thrown into prison, and treated in a dreadful manner. The wealth of churches and convents was not spared, the privileges with which pious princes had endowed them, were no longer a security for the domains of the saints; nor could maintain them either in their ancient liberty, or their former consideration. Men did not fear even to break open the doors of the sanctuary, and take thence the sacred vessels; sacrilege made no distinction between sacred and profane; the ornaments of the sacerdotal vestments, the vases used in divine service, all became the prey of miscreants. Fugitives were arrested in the house of God, in the sanctuary, in the vestibules of the Basilicas, to put them to death. The high-roads were infested by armed and impious robbers, who assailed travellers, sparing neither monks or pilgrims. The same disorders prevailed in cities and villages; neither the streets nor public places could save the innocent from robbery. The more virtuous a man was, the more snares had he to dread. Disgraceful licence took place everywhere, without shame, and without punishment, as if it had been a thing allowed. The holy ties of marriage were neither respected by friends nor by near relatives. Sobriety, that virtue so agreeable to the Lord, was cast aside as superfluous. Economy, and moderation in enjoyment, could find no place where



drunkenness, prodigality, and midnight gambling, stood sentinels. The clergy did not live more regularly than the people; the words of the prophet were realized—'As the people, such are the priests.' (Osea iv. 9; Isaiah xxiv. 2). The bishops were become negligent, dumb dogs that barked not; they were respecters of persons; they oiled their heads with the oil of sinners; and like hirelings, forsook their flocks when they saw the wolf coming. Without considering the word of the Lord, who has said, 'Freely you have received, freely give,' (St. Matt. x. 8), they became guilty of the crime of simony; and defiled themselves by the sale of ecclesiastical benefices; in a word, 'all flesh had corrupted its ways before the Lord,' (Gen. vi. 12). The sinners were not troubled by the signs which God shewed in the heavens and on earth, to terrify, and turn them from evil. 'For there were pestilences, and famines, and the earth quaking,' (St. Matt. xxiv. 7), and other scourges, of which the Saviour speaks in the Gospel. But they continued all the more in the ways of iniquity, 'wallowing in the mire, like the sow that was washed,' (11 Epist. St. Peter ii. 22), and like animals in their uncleanness. As if the long suffering of God could have no limits: to them might be applied the words of the prophet—'Thou hast struck them, but they have not grieved; thou hast bruised them, but they have not received correction.' (Jerem. v. 3)." One sees in this picture an impartial historian, who fears not to shew in all their enormity the disorders of a period very near to that in which he lived—although an archbishop, although the minister of a king, he hides neither the faults of the clergy, nor those of the sovereign. We everywhere perceive upright intentions, sound judgment, a cultivated mind, a man profoundly religious. One is above all astonished at the variety of his knowledge, and his profound intelligence of the sacred Scriptures; and yet, William of Tyre lived in the midst of the 12th century. We think it right to draw the attention of the reader to this circumstance, because our separated brethren still persist in representing the Catholic Church, as having always, and especially before the reformation, been negligent of the study of the Bible. The first part, which we have before us, brings us to the seventh book, and concludes with the arrival of the Crusaders before Jerusalem. The translation is simple, like the text itself; it was in all respects desirable to preserve, in the recital of the illustrious Archbishop of Tyre, its proper characteristics. We can only repeat what we have already said, and give all praise to the Messieurs Kausler, for rendering accessible to the public an author who will do justice to the Crusades. By labours such as these, are prepared, for a future generation, the means of reconstituting the general plan of historical science upon its natural basis.

*Vorträge über die in der päpstlichen Kapelle "übliche Liturgie der Hilten Woche;" von Dr. Nicolaus Wiseman, päpstlichen geheimen Kammerer, und Rector des englischen Collegiums in Rom. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt durch Joseph Maria Axingen, Domkapitular von Evreux. Augsburg, 1840, in der Karl Kollmannschen Buch-*

*handlung.* Four Lectures on the Offices and Ceremonies of Holy Week, as performed in the Papal Chapels. Delivered in Rome, in the Lent of 1837, by Nicholas Wiseman, D.D.; translated into German by Joseph Mary Axinger, Canon of the Cathedral Church of Evreux. Augsburg, 1840; published by Charles Kollmann.

The name of Mgr. Wiseman is not less known and respected in Germany, than in England or Rome. In translating the last work of this celebrated defender of the Catholic faith, M. Axinger has only responded to the voice of the faithful in Germany. What makes the translator better able to enter into the spirit of the author, is his having very lately spent a holy week in the eternal city; he has, therefore, undertaken the work with impressions all fresh, and palpitating with the interest which Rome inspires in every Catholic—above all, in every priest, who visits the Church there founded upon Peter and his successors.

*Über die Gemischten Ehen. Eine dogmatische Abhandlung von F. Perrone, Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu, der Theologie Doctor, und Professor am römischen Kollegium. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt durch Joseph Maria Axinger, Domcapitular von Evreux. Augsburg, 1840, in der Karl Kollmann'schen Buchhandlung.* Dogmatical Treatise upon Mixed Marriages, by F. Perrone, Priest of the Company of Jesus, Doctor in Theology, and Professor of the Roman College. Translated from the Latin by Joseph Maria Axinger, Canon of the Cathedral of Evreux. Augsburg, 1840; published by C. Kollmann.

Mixed marriages were a part of that system by which more than one Protestant government in Germany expected to strike the heaviest blows at the Catholic Church; and unhappily, indifference had already gained ground amongst the people, who were to be subject to all the dangerous and perfidious influence of a heretic government. The late events at Cologne have awakened the faithful from their stupor. Men of talent and of courage have taken up their pens, to explain the principles of the Church, and the conditions upon which alone such unions can be tolerated. In giving to the German public a translation of the works of the learned F. Perrone upon the same subject, the translator has done good service to the cause of truth. For it is of the highest importance for the Catholics of Germany to know, not only that the Holy See has determined the conditions upon which alone mixed marriages may be lawfully contracted, but also how this matter has been scientifically treated by the theologians at Rome. The work of F. Perrone deserves the unanimous praise of all learned men, who are attached to the unalterable doctrine of the Church; and in its new German costume, will doubtless contribute to strengthen the attachment of more than one ecclesiastic, and more than one faithful layman, to the Catholic Church.

*Die Neueste Geschichte von Frankreich, vom Jahre 1789 bis 1836, von T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839, in der Karl Kollmann'schen Buchhandlung.* Modern History of France, from 1789 up to 1836, by T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839; published by Charles Kollmann.

*Die neueste Geschichte von Oesterreich unter den Regenten ausdem Hapsburg Lothringer Hamme, vom Jahre 1789 bis 1839, von T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839, in der K. Kollmann'schen Buchhandlung. Modern History of Austria, under the Sovereigns of Hapsburg Lorraine, from 1789 to 1839, by T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839; published by Charles Kollmann.*

The author of these two works has endeavoured by a short statement of the great events which have taken place in the course of half a century, to shew the working of the two contrary principles, which now dispute the government of the world,—the Catholic and the Protestant principle. He has contemplated these events in a religious point of view, the only one from which we can obtain a correct and comprehensive idea of history. Having himself been a close observer of the scenes he describes; having taken an active part in affairs, and thus acquired a tact which is very necessary to every conscientious writer, but which experience alone can give; he has endeavoured to leave to posterity a just appreciation of facts, and to shew that there is no happiness for any people but in their fidelity to the Church: since this fidelity is at once the guarantee of all rights and of all duties. The epoch in which we live is one of struggle and transition; Protestantism has reached its height in the absolute denial of the historical foundation upon which Christianity is based. The revolution, after having realized in the domain of politics, ideas subversive of the Christian mission, has shown its complete inability to contribute to the happiness or the stability of nations. In his history of France, M. Boost points out that the revolution, which has three times driven the lawful sovereign from the throne, was in fact, only the result of the unfortunate system followed during three centuries by the Bourbons, of always protecting the principles of the Reformation abroad, while they repressed them at home. Such inconsistencies bring always their own chastisement. The French cabinet, which lent its strong assistance to the partizans of heresy in Germany, seeking by their means, to sow, and to keep alive discord; and encouraging continual attacks upon those powers who had opposed the strongest barriers against the encroachments of error,—which, in short, had given its assistance to the reformation every where beyond its own dominions, received but a just punishment, when rebellion and reformation assumed the supremacy in France herself, and overthrew the throne which had so long cherished them. On the other hand, in the second history, we find the personification of the contrary principle, in the government of Austria. If we cannot on all points agree with the author, we are bound to admit, that at least he has not concealed the deplorable innovations of Joseph II, which contributed in no slight degree to bring about the degradation of the Catholic Church in Germany. But in works of this kind, it will not do to give a too minute attention to details: we should seek rather to fix our minds upon the leading idea of the author, and by its assistance to attain the full comprehension of his meaning. Instead of entering upon an

analysis of facts which every one knows, we think we shall do better to give a quotation from the winding up of the history of the Austrian monarchy. The following reflections will shew the comprehensive view which M. Boost has taken of his subject, and how well his work deserves the attention of all who wish to study history as a science.

"Since the transcendental character of history, has for its principle, Christianity, that eternal institution by which God has chosen to work out the salvation and happiness of men; and since this same Christianity has hitherto served us, as a light, by which we may trace out and explain, in the past and the present, how divine Providence has regulated the destinies of individuals and nations; it ought also to serve us as a telescope, through which we may even now contemplate future events, since what is to be, must ever harmonize with what has been. If, then, history presents to us events, as a homogeneous picture of divine justice; if it shews us in the facts which God permits, or in which he more directly intervenes, the superior government of the world; if it convinces us that Divine wisdom, while leaving to the free will of man the power of abusing good, and thus, as it were, creating evil,—can, nevertheless, by his own methods, convert evil itself into good; the history of man acquires thus the character of a history of providence, and appeals rather to our hearts than to our understanding. Thus it is, that the man of feeling often, on these subjects, judges more correctly, and more accurately foresees the future, than one who merely calculates; and in this sense, it may reasonably be said, that the voice of the people is the voice of God! Thus it is, also, that the great men of the earth are so often deceived respecting the future. They attach too much importance to human arrangements, to their marriages, their armies, their pecuniary resources, and to their other political relations, while they almost completely lose sight of the higher principle of universal order, the destiny of men and of states. Thus was Charles VI deceived respecting his pragmatic sanction: instead of his vain foresight, depending upon men, God gave to his pious daughter, Maria Theresa, the strength of religious enthusiasm. Thanks to her confidence in the support of God, she triumphed over a multitude of enemies. Thus was Kaunitz always mistaken, in the conjugal alliances he caused the descendants of Hapsburg to contract with the Bourbons: instead of the happiness he hoped to secure for the house of Austria, he only rendered it a sharer in the disasters of France. Thus Napoleon, the great hero of reason, judged ill in every relation that he formed. Full of confidence in his strength, and in the ties of blood, he looked forward to a future most securely guarded; but the Master of Heaven overthrew speedily the projects of the man who had set himself to oppose the eternal designs of His providence, and gave success to the monarch who had, on the contrary, known how to understand and to follow them. It is this same Providence who alone knows the fitting moment for each event, and assigns limits to the raging tides; who loves to confound the pride of the great, when, placed at the head

of powerful nations and victorious armies, they consider themselves as the authors and masters of events, and to render their views of the future illusory. It is for this reason, that we so often find in history, that on many occasions the most trifling incidents decide great affairs; that things seldom happen according to human calculations and probabilities; that what does really happen is exactly what seemed most unlikely. But at the bottom of all this, we perceive a higher direction, which is no mystery for the man who believes in a more than earthly destiny for the human race. The result is, that religion presents to us the only beacon which can enlighten the past and the present, and unfold to us the mysteries of future times; the religious man alone can seize the thread which can conduct him through the labyrinth of ages. . . . If, then, we look without prejudice upon the present political and religious situation of so many European states; we are forced to own that it resembles the sea, whose depth cannot be sounded, by looking upon the stormy surface, lashed into fury by the winds of heaven. If we consider attentively these states, we shall see that society corrupts less at its base, than at its summit; that scepticism and epicurism gnaw the heart of the upper classes, and that the first is suicidal of itself, while the second exhausts the intellectual and physical faculties. We shall see that in many countries, a spiritual and moral apathy, stupid routine, ruinous custom, a want of will and energy, the absence of profound and independent convictions, a want of patriotism, and in a word, the utmost dryness of mind and egotistical indifference, are the predominant characteristics of those classes which give the tone to society. We see social order shaken to its foundations, since, owing to the many religious commotions that have taken place, no living faith, no deep conviction, can now take root in the hearts of men. From hence it arises, that in many lands, the domestic hearth is shaken by anarchy, and paternal authority set at naught; since domestic as well as public morals have become insecure, uncertain, and powerless. The hidden as well as the open struggle of our days, is therefore not to be looked upon as a mere political contest, between monarchy and republicanism, despotism and liberty; the question is not now of wars to conquer countries and crown: it is a more universal struggle, one which touches the very existence of humanity. It is the struggle between the affirmative and the negative principle: between Christian faith, and anti-Christian incredulity,—which latter, like religious truth, has its chiefs, its pulpits, its meetings, its mysteries, shewing itself sometimes in the domains of religion, sometimes in those of politics; following now one banner, and now another, as seems most expedient for helping on the great work of the destruction of all social institutions."

An historian who lays down such principles as these, must attain to satisfactory results; for it is clear that he comprehends his mission, as also the essential character of the science to the study of which he has devoted himself; and that such is the author's real method of

judging, is evident from the two works before us. The Almighty Creator, is at once the foundation, and the keystone of history, and must be, or it degenerates into romance. Out of the Divinity there is no truth, nothing but error and falsehood; whoever then would fulfil the first duty of an historian, that of being impartial and true, must learn to see in the succession of events, only the realization of the divine intention; and this M. Boost has endeavoured to do, with the most scrupulous attention. He judges of men and things without passion; he has rendered to all a due measure of justice, without respect to their belief or political opinions. He has shown men and events as they were, and not as he would have preferred to have had them. In a word, he is a faithful narrator.

*Hermeneutica Biblicæ generalis principia rationalia Christiana et Catholica selectis exemplis illustrata exhibet usibus auditorum Joannes Ranolder, SS. Theol. Doctor, in Lyceo episcopali quinque; Eccles. linguarum Hebrææ et Græcæ, et studii utriusque faderis professor p. o. Cum approbatione Reverend Ordinarii Episcopi quinque Ecclesiis, typis Lycei episcopalis, 1838.*

One of the principal subjects of ecclesiastical instruction, is the study of the Holy Scriptures. We must therefore welcome with eagerness, whatever may contribute to diffuse an understanding of the holy books, amongst those who are called to distribute to the faithful the nourishment of the divine word, and to defend the Catholic Church against her enemies. Especially in our times, it is important that youth should be forearmed against the maxims which have prevailed in certain parts of Germany, by drawing distinctly the orthodox line, within which, only, we can move with security; this Dr. Ranolder has understood and done in his Hermeneutics. He has developed, with great depth of judgment and scrupulous care, the Catholic system, concerning the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. What distinguishes the present work from many others of the kind, is great clearness in the ideas, and an inviolable attachment to the maxims of our holy religion.

*Christ Katholische Dogmatik, von Dr. Anton Berlage, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Academie zu Munster. Erster Band, Einleitung in die Dogmatik. Munster, in der Theissing'schen Buchhandlung, 1839.* Catholic Dogma, by Dr. Antony Berlage, ordinary Professor of Theology at the Academy of Munster: 1st vol. Introduction to the study of Dogmatics. Munster, published by Theissing, 1839.

The principal object of this work is to shew the incompatibility of Catholic doctrine with the Hermesian system; and how completely the condemnation pronounced by the Holy See against Hermesianism is justified by theological science. It is easy to see the great importance of giving full evidence to the truth in a country where error still propagates its doctrines, in defiance of the solemn condemnation of the Pope. The author has shewn tact and judgment in the task he has undertaken.



*Handbuch der Patrologie, von T. Annegarn, Professor der Theologie in Braunsberg; Munster, in Kathol. Bucher-Verlage von T. H. Deiters, 1839.* Manual of Patrology, by T. Annegarn, Professor of Theology at Braunsberg; Munster, at the Catholic Library of T. H. Deiters, 1839.

M. Annegarn is one amongst those German writers who have always possessed the recommendation of sound and orthodox doctrine. One of his first works is an universal history, written for the use of Catholic youth, in which he has taken remarkable pains to represent every fact in its true light, and to guard his young reader against the innumerable falsifications to be found in Protestant histories. It may be supposed, therefore, in what spirit this author has drawn up the Manual of Patrology, which he has just given to the public. The choice of the subject would be in itself a recommendation; even if we had not long known the writer as indefatigable and conscientious. It is indeed to the study of the ancient fathers, that we must bring back our students in theology: if they are to become worthy ministers of the Church. From this source, they will derive noble inspirations, animate their faith and zeal, and here they will find victorious arms wherewith to conquer the partizans of error. The pamphlets of the day may give a certain varnish of erudition; but true, deep, and practical science, must be learned by studying the works of those, who treasured up the teaching of the apostles and their successors, to transmit it to future generations. M. Annegarn's book must certainly inspire in the young pupils of the sanctuary, a strong and most reasonable predilection for the writings of the Fathers of the Church.

#### MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

A. *Tables of Logarithms*; London: Taylor and Walton, (under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,) 1839.

B. *Tables of Six-figure Logarithms, &c.* superintended by Richard Farley, of the Nautical Almanac Office. Longman and Co. 1840.

"There is a river in Macedon, and a river in Monmouth, . . . and there is salmon in both." No two books of our day, are more alike than these, yet with an essential difference, which makes them two perfectly different books, to be used by perfectly different people: with this advantage, that when those who use either, have occasion to use the other, they will find no change except the essential one, all other points agreeing. To begin from the beginning; A was suggested to the Useful Knowledge Society, by a gentleman holding a certain office in a certain scientific society. B was suggested to Messrs. Longman by his successor. Mr. Farley is the actual superintendent of the press in both, as proved by the preface of A, and the

title-page of B. In both, the old numeral figures, with their heads and tails, are used, to the exclusion of those which are all of the same length. In A, Mr. Babbage's Table of Constants is enlarged; in B, that of A is enlarged; both have the same printer, both are stereotyped. The methods adopted to insure correctness, are much the same in both; and in a variety of minor points, it is obvious that B is the imitation of A. If the old practice of using a motto had been adopted, and if, as was once done by a cobbler on the right-hand side of the street, *mens conscia recti* had been adopted by Messrs. Taylor and Walton, then Messrs. Longman and Co. could not have chosen but to do as was done by the rival on the opposite side of the way, and advertise *men and women's conscia recti*. We believe we may add, that both are exceedingly correct. The greatest apparent difference is, that Longman uses a white and dazzling paper, which is not so good for the eye as the dull and somewhat brownish paper of Taylor and Walton. This difference, however, can be avoided in the next *tirage*, and we hope this point will then be attended to.

The work B would have been the most servile imitation imaginable of A, but for the little circumstance of its giving six figures instead of five, which removes the two as far from one another, as from Macedon to Monmouth, and prevents their even being rivals of one another. Calculators, in general, have a tolerably distinct notion as to what number of figures they want; and those for whom five figures will be sufficient, know better than to trouble themselves with six. But, seeing that no tables of six-figure logarithms have yet existed in a separate form, which are at all comparable to the present ones, many computers for whom five figures are not sufficient, have been obliged to use seven. To those who cannot carry with them several tables, and find seven figures generally more than they want, these six-figure logarithms will be exceedingly useful.

As far as the logarithms of *numbers* are concerned, we decidedly prefer seven places to six: because, owing to their arrangement, the latter require actual multiplication in the interpolations, which is done by inspection in the former. So that, we have no doubt whatever, that the seven-figure tables can, thus far, be more easily used than those of six figures. With the *trigonometrical* logarithms, however, the case is different; and here the six figures may be more easily used than the seven. When the tenth of a minute is a sufficient amount of accuracy, five places of course are preferable to either six or seven.

For a great majority of actual calculations, five places are sufficient; and of those which are not trigonometrical, we doubt whether the greater number require more than four places. A four-figure table of logarithms and anti-logarithms, on two sides of a card of about nine inches by seven in dimension, has been lately published by Taylor and Walton. This small table was, we believe, first constructed for the star-reductions, and privately circulated among practical astronomers. It was then appended to the treatise on Algebra, in the library

of Useful Knowledge, and finally makes its appearance in a separate and cheap form. This is a table of wonderful power, when it is considered that no turning over of leaves is necessary, and that the operation of taking the number to a given logarithm, is made as easy as that of taking the logarithm to a given number.

In fact, the power of logarithms is made most obvious by a sliding rule, and next, by a small table, such as the one we are now speaking of.

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In mentioning the appearance of the second volume of Dr. Arnold's *History of Rome*, we are obliged to confine ourselves, on this occasion, to assuring our readers, that the work exhibits increasing excellence. While the scholar will find the amplest satisfaction, to the statesman are presented very profound and just views of constitutional liberty; and to perhaps the largest class—the general reader,—we add the assurance that the book is among the most *readable* we have ever seen.

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## MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SPAIN.—Among the cheering indications of a revival of Catholic spirit in this unhappy country, we may mention, that in the Christino provinces there are no fewer than five journals dedicated exclusively to the defence of Catholic interests. One, *The Religion*, appears at Barcelona; the names of three of the remaining four are, *The Voice of Religion*, *The Genius of Christianity*, and *The Catholic*.

There is likewise, at Madrid, an academy of ecclesiastical sciences, under the title of St. Isidore, in which, among several opinions which unfortunately manifest a tendency towards Jansenistical and Gallican ideas, sound and pure doctrines are maintained. On the first of April, we find, the subject was discussed, how far kings are absolutely independent of ecclesiastical power in temporal matters. At a preceding sitting, M. Garcia Ruiz read an essay on the primacy of honour and jurisdiction possessed by the Roman pontiff over the whole Church. He defended the Catholic doctrines, and replied to several objections. A discussion arose, new difficulties were moved and answered. This was on the eleventh of March; on the eighteenth the subject was again discussed, and the question turned on the infallibility of the Pope. One of the speakers used the following expression in defence of the proposition:—"Infallibility is necessary, as without it error would spring up and grow with impunity." "This," said he, "would have happened in the case of the heresy of Jansenius, if the Sovereign Pontiff had not possessed the exalted quality of infallibility. The dogmatical bulls, *Veneam, Domini, Sabaoth, Unigenitus*, and *Auctorem Fidei*, are additional proofs; and the submission with which they were received manifests the sentiment of the Church on the subject of infallibility." We rejoice to find likewise that there exists at Madrid a society for the amelioration of persons confined in the public prisons. Its members began with the young prisoners confined in one of the houses of correction, and sought to obtain for them the blessings of a moral and religious education. For this purpose, they addressed themselves to the fathers of the *Scuole Pie*, who instruct the youth in many parts of Spain. They readily promised their aid, and two of their body attend every day for the purpose of teaching a school in the prison, and on festivals they say mass and give instructions.

We propose now to give a brief account of the melancholy state of the Church in Spain, compiled by the *Ami de la Religion*, from the *Catolico* and some private documents. It presents a melancholy picture of the ruin and desolation caused by a long internal war, and is a proof of the necessity of the attempts which are now being made by the Spanish authorities to obtain a reconciliation with the head of the Church.

The state of the bishoprics is deplorable. Twenty-six sees are vacant by death, and the Queen Regent has nominated administrators, who govern them, against the canons and the will of the chapters.

Seven bishops are in exile in foreign countries; nine reside in Spain, but have been driven from their diocesses. Twenty-two only reside in their diocesses.

ROME.—On the 5th of October, his holiness solemnly consecrated the high altar of the church of St. Paul, which was destroyed by fire in 1823. He afterwards delivered a homily and celebrated mass. The homily has been since printed.

LUCCA.—The order of Malta has been restored in the states of the duke of Lucca.

AMERICA.—On Sunday, May 17th, 1840, the fourth provincial council of Baltimore was opened. Twelve bishops and one archbishop were present, five others were absent; two sees are vacant. The religious orders were represented by father C. Montgomery, provincial of the Dominicans, and F. Joseph Prost, superior of the Redemptorists. The bishops of St. Louis and Boston were the promoters, and the rev. Messrs. Damphoux and White secretaries. The theologians were seventeen in number. The bishop of Charleston preached the opening sermon. Five prelates made their profession of faith according to the decree of the Council of Trent. Everything was conducted according to the Pontifical. The second session was held on the 21st of May. A solemn dirge was performed by the bishop of Vincennes for his predecessor, Mgr. Bruté, whose funeral panegyric was pronounced by the bishop of Cincinnati. On the same day, the first stone was laid of a new church in honour of St. Vincent of Paul. On the 24th the last session was held in the cathedral, the decrees of the council were read, and the fathers signed them at the altar. The kiss of peace was then given, and the *Te Deum* chanted. It is said that the council has petitioned for the nomination of a bishop to the see of Richmond, in Virginia, which has been governed, since the translation of its former bishop to Waterford, in 1822, by the archbishop of Baltimore. The fathers have further prayed for the appointment of a bishop to the see of Natchez, erected in 1837 for the state of Mississippi; the rev. Mr. Haydon, priest at Bedford, has declined to accept it. The bishops addressed on the 23rd a pastoral letter to their flock, in which they congratulate with them on the advances that religion has made since the last council. Two new bishoprics have been erected, Dubuque and Nashville; the number of priests and students in the seminaries, and schools of religious women, increased, churches built, and the sacraments have been more frequented; the violence of the press against our holy religion has diminished; the formation of a fund for aged or infirm priests is recommended; the rules are laid down respecting mixed marriages, and the conduct of the king of Prussia justly condemned. The bishops merely express the feelings of their clergy and people in the letter they have addressed to the illustrious confessors imprisoned by him. The fathers describe the evils of secret societies, and pray the faithful not to allow themselves to be carried away by the immoderate love of wealth, or by the

spirit of agitation and exasperation that accompanies the elections. Pious associations, conducive to sobriety and charity are recommended. The faithful are invited to pray for the benefactors of the missions, and the generosity of the associations established in Austria and France is mentioned with gratitude.—The bishops then addressed to the confessor-archbishops of Cologne and Posen, the following affecting and apostolic letter.

*To their venerable brethren in Christ Jesus, the glorious confessors of the faith, Clement Augustus Droste de Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne, and Martin Dunin, Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, the Metropolitan and Suffragans of the province of Baltimore, and all the Bishops assembled in council in that city.*

Health, grace, praise, honour and glory.  
Members of one and the same mystical body, animated by one and the same spirit, united by the vivifying influence of one and the same head, great as is the space of land and sea which separates us, we cannot but feel, glorious confessors, a sympathy in all that you have suffered. For the charity of Christ moveth us and mingleth our tears with the tears of those that are weeping, as our joy with the joy of those who are in gladness. The glory of your heroic acts hath reached even to us. We have been informed of the adverse designs, the calumnies, the menaces, the persecutions, the torments of exile and imprisonment, the arms of the powerful of this world against you and against the Church. We have been informed of the unshaken firmness, the constancy, and the faith of your episcopal soul. We have been informed of your meekness, your patience, your prudence, your wisdom, truly worthy of successors of the apostles. We have heard these things with admiration, with astonishment; and, in truth, in this age, which so many commendations exalt and praise for the mildness of its manners, its perfection in the arts, the loftiness of its science, the liberality of all its conduct, we have reason to be astonished when we see revived in these days the perfidy and the cruelty of the persecutors, and that more especially in countries enlightened by the gospel, and under princes professing the Christian religion. But God, who hath promised to be with his church to the consummation of ages, has, in the mercy and wisdom of his providence, opposed to the Constantius, the Valens, the Julian of our days, another Athanasius and another Basil, who, acting as a bulwark to their Churches, might protect the ancient faith, the institutions, the rights, and the laws of our fathers. We have wept over the oppression of the daughter of our people, over the scattered stones of the sanctuary, over the flocks bereft of their pastors; we have wept, but joy hath superabounded in the midst of our tribulation, and we have bounded with gladness because of the perseverance of the confessors of Christ, of the constancy of the martyrs, of the victory of those who have fought for the faith. Glory to you, confessors, martyrs, soldiers of Christ! Glory be unto you!



He who hath fought for you, He who hath fought with you, He will crown you.

Disdain not this pledge of love, admiration, and respect, proceeding from the hearts of your brethren in Jesus Christ, in provincial council assembled.

SAMUEL, Archbp. of Baltimore.

B. J. Bp. of Bardstown.

JOHN, Bp. of Charlestown.

BENEDICT, Bp. of Boston.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Bp. of

Nancy and Toul.

MICHAEL, Bp. of Mobile.

FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. of Arath,

Coadj. of Philadelphia.

JOHN, Bp. of Cincinnati.

ANTHONY, Bp. of New Orleans.

MATHIAS, Bp. of Dubuque.

RICHARD, Bp. of Nashville.

CELESTINE, Bp. of Vincennes.

*Baltimore, May 24th, 1840.*

END OF VOL. IX.

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